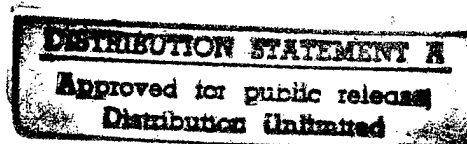


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5 September 1984

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report



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5 September 1984

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## MPLA REPORTEDLY WEAKER AS UNITA ESCALATES ACTIVITIES

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 18 Jul 84 pp 4, 5

[Text]

The MPLA government appears weaker than at any time since it seized power in 1975. The recent UNITA attacks in Huambo province followed last week by the blowing up of a major oil pipeline in Cabinda, confirm a relentless escalation of UNITA activity. (AC Vol 25 No 12). The MPLA politburo and the armed forces (FAPLA) each are as divided as ever on vital matters of policy. President **Eduardo Dos Santos** and the more moderate faction, including internal affairs minister **Alexandre 'Kito' Rodrigues**, probably have a little more power now than a year ago. But in the absence of a decisive show-down between moderate pragmatists and the hard-line ideologues, it appears that UNITA, with **South African, Israeli, Zairean** and other support, is intent on winning control of Cabinda, thereby strangling whatever chance the MPLA had of consolidating itself.

Cabinda, where the **American** company *Gulf Oil* produces about 70% of Angola's foreign exchange revenue, for several months has been UNITA's biggest military objective. UNITA leader **Jonas Savimbi** and some of his senior commanders have had direct and indirect contacts with Zairean officials in their efforts to persuade President **Mobutu** of the diplomatic and military viability of a large-scale assault on Cabinda. UNITA's facilities in Zaire, including a sizeable communications and supply base at Kinshasa airport, have grown in tandem with the increase of UNITA activity in the north-east region of Angola. The Israelis, now extremely well-informed about developments in the region, might have decided to assist UNITA where possible. However, a large-scale UNITA attack on Cabinda would almost certainly require a UNITA force to cross the river Zaire in Zairean territory. The force would then presumably use the eastbound Boma-Moanda road in order to get within easy striking distance of Cabinda. The only alternative would be a seaborne night landing - an operation requiring a sophistication UNITA does not yet possess.

There are three factors to consider in this scenario:-

- 1) Mobutu cannot afford a major diplomatic battle without tacit American support. Nor, in the present uncertain political atmosphere in Kinshasa (AC Vol 25 No 11 & 14) can he afford to give an opportunity to armed incursion into Zaire by opposition groups, which conceivably could ignite the Zairean army against him.
- 2) The chances of a Cuban withdrawal from Angola as part of a Namibia settlement are fast approaching zero in the foreseeable future. The strong pro-Savimbi element in covert US foreign policy could therefore argue that critical pressure on the MPLA - via an attack on Cabinda - might force either the collapse of the MPLA or MPLA-UNITA negotiations. Either way that would result in a more moderate government in Luanda.
- 3) South Africa wants a settlement in Namibia only after the emergence in Angola of a government that will cut off support for both SWAPO and the ANC.

Meanwhile in Luanda the US and Portugal have become the main targets for MPLA frustration. At the recent show trial in a Luanda cinema of 56 people accused of diamond smuggling, several Portuguese were accused of economic sabotage against the state, and an Angolan, **Francisco Fragata**, was charged of spying for the US. A former local employee of the US embassy in Luanda, Francisco Fragata was delegated by the US to settle outstanding accounts after the embassy's closure in 1977. A telegram from the US state department thanking him for his services was exhibited in court. Angola's public prosecutor, Lt-Col. **Simeao Kafuki**, demanded the death penalty for Fragata and four other Angolans.

Though court statements were made *in camera*, it is known that at least one of the accused (**José Alberto Ferreira Pinto**) stated last month that some MPLA leaders were involved in the illegal diamond traffic. The following week two members of the MPLA central committee, Lt-Col. **David Moises** (who was recalled from Moscow where he was attending a staff course for Generals) and **Celestino Bernardo**, a former secretary for cooperatives, were suspended from their duties. In March the chief of police, **Fernando da Conceicao**, was dismissed.

The involvement of Portuguese in the show-trials comes at a time when Angolan-Portuguese relations have been marked by a series of recriminatory and contradictory incidents. While the MPLA defence ministry contacted a group of Portuguese war veterans, all with counter-insurgency experience in Angola, with the view to them training FAPLA officers, various Angolan diplomats, notably the ambassador to Lisbon, **Franca van Dunen**, stepped up pressure on Portugal to curb UNITA activity in Lisbon. They hinted that Angola might transfer its trade and technical connections from Lisbon to Madrid. Franca van Dunen then became the only Lusophone ambassador in Lisbon also to accredit himself in Spain. At one stage recently it seemed that **Fidel Castro's** visit to Madrid was a prelude to a more

rapid shift by the MPLA towards Spain. Earlier this year the Portuguese oil company, **Petrogal**, was the only foreign company to be excluded from exploration in the new offshore oil concession, bloc 4, north of Luanda. Portuguese anxiety over its rift with Angola was probably in part responsible for the new anti-terrorist law and the re-establishment of an information and security police department in Portugal.

Because of developments in Angola, Portuguese-Cuban rivalry has become a significant ingredient in the East-West confrontation in southern Africa. Both comparatively poor countries, they have traditionally been keenly interested in opportunities for emigration of their nationals. Having had to accommodate, at great expense, 600,000 returnees from its former colonies, Portugal is now faced with the prospect of a mass return of hundreds of thousands of Portuguese labourers in EEC countries, if or when it joins the EEC.

Cuba, with the exception of an exodus in 1982-83, has for long been unable to export its surplus labour to the US. We understand that Fidel Castro, who in the late 1970s unsuccessfully proposed a major Cuban resettlement scheme in southern Angola, sees in the current impasse over Namibia a possibility for resurrecting the issue. When Eduardo dos Santos visited Cuba last March he was apparently told that a substantial number of Cubans would have to be granted Angolan citizenship if Cuba was to cooperate in negotiations with South Africa.

Despite his misgivings, Dos Santos presented to his politburo the idea as an ingenious way of circumventing the South African and US demand for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola. In fact a constitutional amendment last December does indeed make it extremely easy for the government to give Cubans Angolan nationality. However, the MPLA authorities denied any such schemes, lending some credence to the possibility of South African disinformation on the matter.

We now understand from sources in Luanda that the granting to Cubans and other Hispanics of Angolan citizenship, in small batches at a time, has already started. At a time when the MPLA is under mounting pressure, the domestic repercussions could become serious. Many Angolans would undoubtedly fear that a lot of well-paid jobs would eventually be held by 'foreigners' again.

And the Portuguese, whose own domestic frailties sap so much energy, might feel that the endless and frustrating diplomacy with the MPLA, especially with the growing Cuban-Hispanic factor, should be reduced in favour of break-or-make diplomacy involving closer ties with UNITA ●

## INCREASED CATTLE RAISING CAUSING PROBLEMS FOR WILDLIFE

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 3 Aug 84 p 16

[Article by Mort Rosenblum: "Cattle Crowd Out Game in Kalahari Carnage"]

[Text] Rampant cattle ranching, spurred by foreign aid, is turning fragile Southern African land into permanent desert and killing off some of the world's last great herds of game.

Scientists say the dramatic case of Botswana, a stable democracy with black Africa's highest per capita income, reflects a scourge devastating much of a continent each year less able to feed itself.

"This is obscene," said ecologist, Mr Douglas Williamson, on a "moonscape" dotted with blackened piles of skulls and bone ash — burnt remains of 50 000 wildebees crowded out by cattle at this Kalahari reservoir of Mopipi.

Northeast of here, at least 40 000 zebra and antelope face death, walking 48 kilometres between their water source, the Botete River, and the nearest vegetation left by grazing cattle.

"At this rate, within the decade there will be nothing left of the game," said Mr Williamson, a South African who had worked in Botswana for 10 years, but is now with the Frankfurt Zoological Society.

Steadily, he said, cattle are rendering sterile, land that should indefinitely sustain wild animals. "How can you have a production system that destroys its base for production?" he asked.

The wildebees — or gnu — are the most endangered. Experts reporting for the United Nations, international agencies and the Botswana Government, agree environmental damage is critical, in places irrevocable.

And, they say, most cattle are owned by a rich elite in power, who sell beef to the European Economic Community at preferential rates, with no net tax benefits to the Botswana Treasury.

As elsewhere in Africa, severe drought has intensified overgrazing, leaving vast stretches devoid of vegetation or covered in scrub bush even wildlife cannot eat.

The other extreme is Lesotho, veined with raw, eroded gashes. It loses 10 per cent of its topsoil a year. "We could have saved it, but the political will was not there," said Mr Sid Youthed, former soil conservation officer in

Lesotho who sees similar trends in Botswana.

In Botswana, the situation is worsened by 2 880 kilometres of cordon fences erected to control foot-and-mouth disease, believed carried by Buffalo. Since 1954, ecologists say hundreds of thousands of game animals have died from the fences.

Wild herds, cut off from routes to water, die naturally or are massacred in their weakened condition by poachers and villagers. Ranchers, hard-pressed, crowd cattle into game reserves. Lion and leopard are killed as predators.

The government and private ranchers override nature's defences by sinking boreholes in fragile terrain which is quickly overgrazed. As a result, land is dying in the same way as in the Sahel region south of the Sahara.

Across Africa, as well as in Botswana, conservation campaigns have proved too narrowly based to reverse the process.

"In concentrating on saving a few popular species, like rhino and elephants, we are neglecting the destruction

of whole ecosystems in which all animals live," said Mr Rick Lomba, an American wildlife specialist.

Two of Africa's last great unspoiled ecosystems are at risk in Botswana.

The Kalahari, a richly diverse expanse of grasses and trees, is already mottled with dustbowls and sand dunes. As bushmen settle at cattle posts to tend herds, pressure mounts to open their land to grazing.

The Okavango delta, a vast swamp of stunning beauty, is being sprayed to eradicate Tsetse fly, fatal to cattle. Now only a thin wire fence keeps herders from moving cattle into lush grassland surrounding its waterways.

The three-year drought has killed perhaps 300 000 cattle, but Botswana's herds total three million, three times the human population. By African tradition, cattle mean status — the more the better regardless of condition — and tribesmen, voters, resist curbs on herds.

At the same time, all but two cabinet ministers and top civil servants own cattle, government sources say. President Quett Masire keeps huge herds. His brother, Peter, is the country's second largest rancher.

Last year a Kalahari Conservation Society symposium said authorities disregarded scientific warnings that urgent measures were needed against environmental threats of very serious proportions.

Each drought causes progressively worse damage, said Mr John Cooke, of the University of Botswana. "Experts see it. Others don't want to see it. It's only human."

Mr David Finlay, top civil servant in the agriculture ministry, blamed the drought, and forecast some improvement with better rains. But he acknowledged:

"I know we are doing damage, losing land. We must convince people not to overstock or move into fragile areas. But I am talking about 10, 15, 20 years, and the ecologists will quite correctly say we haven't got 10, 15 or 20 years."

He said authorities were beginning to consider stock controls. Foreign specialists fault not only rich ranchers, but also such donors as the European Economic Community (EEC) and the World Bank.

"We are helping finance the devastation of the Kalahari desert," said Mr Christian Blanchard, EEC delegate to Botswana, who advises a policy review. "The problem is political."

He referred to a beef export quota of 19 000 tons a year to the EEC at a 90 per cent levy reduction, a concession arranged by Britain after independence when Botswana had no other source of income.

Now Botswana produces 12 million carats of diamonds a year, the world's third largest producer. The government makes no profit from cattle since ranchers' taxes are offset by free veterinary services and indirect subsidies.

EEC advisers have urged a 10 per cent tax at the slaughterhouses, but officials have not implemented it.

"The 100 million dollars earned last year from beef exports went straight into the pockets of private owners — one third of them to one man," a foreign aid official claimed.

That man, Mr Derek Brink, whose father settled here from South Africa, is regarded as individually holding more land than anyone in the world — 396 900 hectares.

The EEC paid cattle owners about R47 million more than the free market price and, at the same time, subsidised beef sales to Mozambique and Angola. The nine-member community already has a 600 000-ton beef surplus.

Recently EEC officials gave tentative approval to renewing the quota in what sources within the Community called a political compromise.

The World Bank has lent more than R16 million to cattle projects which bank-sponsored reviews found to have caused serious damage.

In one scathing assessment, two specialists reported that a plan to start small ranches for the disadvantaged in fact put more land into the hands of the rich, destroying rangeland, killing off wildlife and creating local hostility.

They concluded: "Persistently to ignore the problem (of overstocking) as Botswana presently does is absurd for a nation so concerned both with image and the performance of a modern livestock producing country."

World Bank officials are considering yet a third phase, designed to correct past imbalances, but many experts fear the situation is likely to worsen further.

The US Agency for International Development abandoned livestock projects two years ago when it was determined they were causing more harm than good, a US official said.

US specialists argue for more emphasis on food production. Botswana grew only five per cent of its food needs last year, largely because of drought, and relies on international aid for 55 per cent of its food requirement.

Government officials note cattle have been central to Botswana's culture for centuries, and 60 per cent of all citizens derive some direct income from the herds.

"We talk about developing wildlife for tourism, but that doesn't put money into the peasant's pocket," a senior official said.

But critics argue the distribution is badly skewed. Despite Botswana's reputation for relatively corruption-free government, powerful financial and political interests clearly dominate the beef industry.

Mr Brink's agents buy weakened cattle from

small herders, at discounted rates. Other large ranchers, often government officials, control water points and usable rangeland, crowding out smallholders who cannot withstand the drought.

A senior civil servant — since removed — boasted openly of owning 1500 cattle and evading all taxes, according to government sources. They added that he was not a rarity.

Officially, a careful balance is sought between cattle and wildlife so that one does not disadvantage the other. In practice, ecologists say, wild animals have no chance.

"Look, this is cattle country," an Agriculture Ministry official said in an interview. "I like wildlife, but let's face it: if all wildlife disappeared tomorrow, our job would be 75 per cent easier. It would be like heaven." — SAPA-AP.

CSO: 3400/2041

## BRIEFS

YUGOSLAVIAN COOPERATION--Yugoslavia and Burkina have recently seriously examined the possibility of strengthening their economic cooperation, which lags behind the good political relations which the two nonaligned countries enjoy. The minister of Foreign Affairs expressed his country's interest in having Yugoslavian enterprises play an important role in the solution of its economic problems. Both sides argued in favor of concrete forms of cooperation, oriented toward the strengthening of economic relations and toward an increase in trade, currently on the order of 300 to 500 thousand dollars. Besides providing food and medicines, Yugoslavia offers scientific and technical aid as well as student scholarships to this drought-threatened country. One of the most important infrastructure projects in the country is the construction of a railroad linking the Burkinabe capital, Ouagadougou, with Mali and Niger. A good 105 km have already been built. Yugoslavia's "Investimport" should participate in the execution of this project, which is the subject of negotiations between the two countries. With respect to investment cooperation, an agreement is being negotiated on the participation of Belgrade's "Energoprojekt" in the joint opening up and exploitation of three large mines in this mineral-rich country. Yugoslavia reported a deficit of some 100 thousand dollars in its trade with Burkina, to which it exports shoes, veterinary medicines, etc. and from which it imports wicker products, sugar, etc. Both Yugoslavia and Burkina advocate greater activity on the part of nonaligned countries at this time of strained international relations. They particularly stress the necessity of strengthening economic cooperation between nonaligned countries. [Text] [Ouagadougou CARREFOUR AFRICAINE in French No 839, 13 Jul 84 p 27] 9825

FRG DEVELOPMENT AID--The government of the Republic of Burkina, represented by Comrade Talata Eugene Dondasse, minister of planning and cooperation, and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany, represented by his excellence Elias Jurgen, the Federal Republic of Germany's ambassador to the Republic of Burkina, signed a financial cooperation agreement on Friday, July 6, 1984. As a result of this agreement, which confirms earlier commitments made during the last intergovernmental talks between the two countries, the government of the Federal Republic of Germany is making 56 million deutsche marks available to the Burkinabe people for various development projects, particularly rural irrigation and infrastructure projects. During the ceremony, the comrade minister of cooperation and planning was joined by his cabinet director and the director of technical and financial cooperation. At the side of ambassador Elias was a new colleague, Mr. Rolf Poschenreider, recently arrived in our country to replace Mr. Weerth whose assignment has ended. [Text] [Ouagadougou CARREFOUR AFRICAINE in French No 839, 13 Jul 84 p 9] 9825

CHINESE MEDICAL MISSION--Last July 4th, the minister of public health, commander-pharmacist Abdul Salam Kabore, established the fifth Chinese medical mission, which landed June 28, in Koudougou. The fourth mission, which is taking permanent leave of the country, will spend two weeks completing a transfer of service to this (new) mission. During the two weeks, the new Chinese medical team will be introduced to work procedures, primarily by the personnel of Koudougou hospital. Composed of 16 members including six women, the team is led by Madame Zheung, a gynecologist, whose has several years of professional experience behind her. In welcoming them to the African land of the Burkinabe people's health minister emphasized that the People's Republic of China and our country are linked by significant bonds of friendship; these bonds have become stronger since Burkina committed itself to the path of progress, independence and national dignity. Established since 1976 in Koudougou, the capital of Burkina (as published), the Chinese medical mission has made a positive contribution to the advancement of the Burkinabe people's health. [Text] [Ouagadougou CARREFOUR AFRICAINE in French No 839, 13 Jul p 9] 9825

CSO: 3419/839

MEKANE YESUS FOLLOWERS SUBJECT TO SUSPENSION, REPRESSION

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Jul 84 p 6

[Article by Guenter Krabbe: "Regime of the Revolution Suspects There Is Resistance Behind Cloister Walls--People of the Oromo Support Ethiopian Mekane Yesus Church"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 15 July--Close to the top of King George Street stands the Protestant church of Addis Ababa, but one has to go round the back and through a side street to get to it. "Mekane Yesus" ("Place of God" in Amharic) says the sign above the driveway. Then, crossing the unkempt church square past a few small buildings of the Protestant elementary school, one comes to the office of the Protestant Mekane Yesus Church--with its 600,000 members the largest of three Protestant churches in Ethiopia.

Even measured by the standards of shabby Addis Ababa, the whole quarter does not impress one as well-to-do despite the fact that it neighbors on a quarter which is not unimportant by any means. Nearby is the Finance Ministry, on the other side the National Museum, farther south the building of the German school seized 8 years ago, now housing the Pharmaceutical Faculty of the university, and farther north the university itself, which was founded by Jesuits. The description of the area is important, for already in the sixties, when no one as yet thought of revolution and of overthrowing Emperor Haile Selassie, the territory was earmarked in urban planning for expansion of the university. That may be one of the reasons why it has not been better maintained and it certainly will be the reason why this church community will feel it is being persecuted in the next years when perhaps not the church but the school and the administrative building will be torn down. "We have to expect that," says a member of the synod, who however was unable to say why nevertheless 3 years ago, when the building housing the church office was sequestered, the church on this very area modernized and refurbished the existing building. A municipal building permit was not required.

The Ethiopian revolutionary regime is not absolutely hostile to religion. The wife of the Head of State Mengistu Haile-Mariam, even participates in annual pilgrimages, and no one makes a secret of it. The dictatorial regime suspects, however, that political opponents can gather, and resistance can form, behind the walls of cloisters, churches and synagogues. That was the



reason why many Christian leaders were arrested in the first years following the 1974 revolution. Moreover as early as 1975 the regime deprived the Coptic Church, the official church during the imperial days, of its economic base by expropriating its real estate holdings, which were so large as to amount to about one-third of the entire national territory of over 1.2 million square kilometers.

The land reform, however, affected not only church real estate but also the big private landownership of the emperor's family and other aristocratic families. In addition the official church lost its special position vis-a-vis all other religious communities. The Mekane-Yesus Church, expelled by the emperors to the pagan areas of the south and west, and the Catholic Church with its center in Eritrea, which had long been Italian, were placed on the same level, and so were the Muslims, who with their 25 million are no less numerous than the Coptic Christians. Since the revolution they too have been allowed to hold public office and have built more mosques than were built in the entire 45 year reign of Emperor Haile Selassie and Muslim holidays have been declared legal holidays.

The restriction of Protestant missionary activity to the south and west was suspended, and the Mekane-Yesus Church became active throughout the country. Religious emancipation, from which the Protestants and Muslims benefited most, stopped short of the smallest religious community: the synagogues of the Falasha, Ethiopia's "black Jews," who still amount to about 30,000, were closed.

Members of the synod in Addis Ababa say that the Mekane-Yesus Church is not being discriminated against. But they state their displeasure at government measures against their church being conjured up by assertions in distorted reports abroad that the Mekane-Yesus Church was being singled out for persecution. Though the names of pastors and other members of the church were disguised in reports, this was being done so inadequately, according to a member of the synod interviewed in Addis Ababa, that the persons in question were actually arrested subsequently. And this in turn "proved discrimination."

These arrests have to do with a special feature of the church. Whereas a hundred years ago the emperor was pleased about the technical skills of the first Protestant missionaries who had come to Ethiopia, he disliked the prospects of Coptic Christians being converted. So he assigned to them the territories which had only just been reconquered, in which there were no Copts, for their missionary activity. These territories were inhabited primarily by the people of the Oromo.

As a result the Protestants were of course primarily successful in their missionary efforts among the Oromo, who by now are said to constitute about 40 percent of the Ethiopian population. Today the church states that Oromo constitutes about 90 percent of their 600,000 members. The Oromo (their old name, Galla, to Ethiopians means almost the same as slave or barbarian) were already held in contempt during the time of the emperors insofar as they had not adapted to the state people of the Amharics and had not adopted its

Coptic religion. Not until 1974 was Oromo recognized as a national language of Ethiopia, and only since 1975 have there existed broadcasts in Oromo and an Oromo magazine. Three Oromo are ministers in the government of the revolution.

But just as among other peoples of Ethiopia, so among the Oromo a secessionist rebel organization, the "Oromo Liberation Front" (OLF), was formed after the revolution. Since the Mekane-Yesus Church is primarily an Oromo church, and since it has, for a number of reasons, never dissociated itself publicly from the OLF, and because, according to its own data, 90 percent of its financing comes from abroad, particularly the Federal Republic of Germany, and because more OLF rebels belong to this church than to any other and of all people the brother of the secretary general of the church, Gulina Tumsah, who was arrested in 1979 and has since disappeared, is the chief of the OLF rebels--for all these reasons the Mekane-Yesus Church is particularly suspect to the regime. It does not matter that compared with the threat from Somalia, Eritrean separatism and the uprisings in the provinces of Tigre and Wollo, the OLF is insignificant.

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CSO: 3420/32

INFORMATION OFFICIAL ON NATION'S SEARCH FOR POLITICAL SYSTEM

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 24, 25 Jul 84

[24 Jul 84 p 3]

[Two-part interview with Joyce Aryee, PNDC Information Secretary, by Cyril Acolatse "recently" during a visit to the FRG]

[Text] Cyril Acolatse: I will like to start on a traditional note by asking you your reason for being here in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Joyce Aryee: Well, I am here first and foremost to interact with officials whose work relate to the Ministry of Information, as well as to meet some media people, share some ideas with them and also have an interaction with the Ghanaian community, student, non-student alike and also to share some ideas with them.

CA: So obviously you have met a section of the Ghanaian community here. What was your message to them?

JA: I spent a little time explaining the new political structures that we have in Ghana. As you well know, since December 31, 1981 we have a revolution and the purpose of the revolution is to set in motion institutional structures, political, economic and social that will be more relevant to our developmental needs.

As a former colonial country, I think we have adopted systems that are not always relevant for us. So we believe that now we should adapt to such systems, put in a bit of our own traditional institutions and move forward. Because, as a potentially rich country we have no business being in the kind of situation we are in now.

System

CA: So Minister (Secretary) Aryee, is it possible by now to identify what sort of political system Ghana is committed to?

JA: I will say that we are still in the process of finding what best system we can practise. At the moment we have an informal democratic structure through the Defence Committees. I am saying informal because the Defence

Committees are not parties. Everybody who is committed to making Ghana a better country can be a member of the Defence Committees. And the Defence Committees, both in communities and in workplaces, are supposed to get involved in the decision-making process. They are supposed to identify the areas of concern, get involved in finding solutions to them, find out how decision makers are also reacting to the work that they are supposed to do. So this is the informal structure.

But what we intend to do in the final analysis is to have a national assembly through the electoral process. And the PNDC is going to get expanded, and the expanded PNDC is going to work out the mechanics for achieving this. So we hope that in time we would be able to identify and give it a name. But right now we are in the process of finding out exactly what political system we should adopt.

CA: So from what you have said I gather the impression that the People's Defence Committees and Workers Defence Committees have sort of come as a relevant element of the process of politicising the Ghanaian society.

JA: Indeed. As the Chairman keeps saying, this time round we want to democratise from the bottom-up rather than from the usual up-down. So at the grassroot level the Defence Committees are involved in all the processes of decision-making. So, this is how indeed it is. You have accurately described it.

CA: Well, I quite remember that during a recent visit to Ghana by an officer of the World Bank he commended the National Mobilisation Committee for sort of trying to instil the spirit of communal development in Ghanaians. To what extent would you say that the Mobilisation Committee has actually proved useful to the present situation in Ghana?

IMF

JA: I think they are very useful. You see, the mobilisation programme is part of the economic recovery programme.

You know, when you usually go to the IMF, it is just a monetarist approach to solving your balance of payment problems. But we believe that whatever approaches you have must bear in mind the people for which these approaches are meant. So if you don't have a factor that deals directly with the people you'll have a problem on your hand as many countries have had who have been to the IMF. So the mobilisation programme is supposed to motivate and mobilise people to get directly involved in the processes that will ensure economic development. And the Committee is more or less the co-ordinating centre.

This time it is not the central government which is going to say, village A or region B do this or do that. But each region or each village or each district will more or less identify what they need and the Committee co-ordinates and makes sure that they get the inputs, they have inputs, that is both material and human, and then it becomes a project that emanates

from the region or the district or the village. And the Committee merely helps them to ensure that they get the right things and that the work gets done properly. So in that respect I think they're doing very well.

CA: And obviously they are also trying to put idle inputs or resources into use in certain areas.

JA: Yes, you know, we have a problem of redundancy, direct redundancy as well as people who are not doing enough for what they are getting. So we are re-directing and re-deploying excess or redundant labour into more profitable areas.

But one of the things is that people who are found to be redundant or under-employed may opt for certain programmes. We are putting in place some farming programmes where people can opt to go into farming, get paid perhaps a year's or six months' salary, so that they can go and commence. Land would be made available, a few inputs would be made available. So this is how the redeployment is going on.

You see, we want to draw a distinction between laying off people and re-directing and re-deploying labour.

#### Reconciliation

CA: Well, Miss Aryee, we hear of reports of the PNDC policy of reconciling the Ghanaian society. Does this policy mean reconciling the different political views or different political personalities into the national use?

JA: Indeed, it is. But you see in all political systems there are some people who've made up their minds that it is they who have to rule and in spite of whatever you do they are not interested.

But I would say that the reconciliation is meant for everyone. Ghana is a country for all of us and we need the human resources of all of us to build the nation.

What we are saying now is that don't just get obsessed with systems that have been practised in other countries and have worked. The social conditions, the cultural conditions, the traditional situations may have been different. The historical circumstances are also different. The historical circumstances are also different. And that without also the coming together of the people in these nations the development which we are envious of would not have taken place.

So we are reconciling all factors, all shades of opinion, all people, civil, military, christian, moslem, animist, everyone, is supposed to get reconciled.

CA: So that you would say there is no justification for the sort of campaign that is now being waged outside the country against the regime in Ghana by the so-called dissidents if I may put it that way?

JA: Yes indeed. But I think you can group these people into one or two. There are those who were directly affected by the change in the sense that they were the ones wielding political power. So the change naturally displaced them, so they are angry. Such people you can hardly talk to because they are too obsessed with the loss of their own influence and power.

There is another group which was in the sort of opposition and which was biding its time, hoping that their turn would come. So with the kind of system where we are drawing everybody together they sort of feel their time is not coming, so they are also against the process.

Plus, there are those who were also benefitting greatly from the economic problems, with blackmarketing, with selling things at exorbitant prices and so on. So they are also displaced. They can't get the cheap money they were getting anymore.

So these are the various groupings that are pretending to have a common cause and it is quite obvious that given time they are going to explode because they really do not have a common cause. Each of them is coming from various angles and they are not at all justified in the campaign they're waging. They've lost steam and they are saying a whole number of things that are not true at all.

CA: Well, from here we may perhaps shift onto the economic aspect of the situation in Ghana. At the time you were coming was there any evidence that the economy was picking up?

JA: Indeed, and perhaps it would even be useful to talk to non-Ghanaians, especially those in the various economic communities, because they have even more optimism than we have. They can see direct results.

Let's take the export sector, for example. Because of a better exchange rate policy (you know we had to devalue), because of that exchange rate adjustment the export sector is picking up considerably. Even though the quantum of something like cocoa is not increasing immediately, at least the money that accrues from the sale of cocoa for which we have to pay farmers and also pay CMB, which is the bureaucracy that takes care of that, has improved.

The gold sector is also improving and revenue is now being paid to government chest which didn't happen before, and the State Gold Mining Corporation has also now got money to rehabilitate its equipment. The Ashanti Goldfields has got money and has sunk another shaft.

#### Infrastructure

If you take the timber sector, that is also moving, Infrastructure is also improving. The railway is undergoing rehabilitation, the road network is improving, the port facilities are improving, and most important of all, because of the economic policies we have taken agricultural activity has had

an added boost and when I was leaving home the food situation was very good even though we are not yet in the real harvest season.

There is a lot of food around and I think this in itself is an indication of improvement.

CA: And I'm sure also the important factor of improvement in agriculture has been the PNDC's decision to allow workers, everybody to do so some sort of farming by giving them time after work. Won't you say so?

JA: Yes. But this was done for the rainy season, for the planting season. So we are back to the same working hours except that we go to work an hour late. Instead of eight we report at nine. But between March and June we went to work at nine and closed at three, so, as you said, people could have the opportunity to do some work on their backyards.

But workplaces are also being encouraged to do collective farming. So you have some workplaces which may have a farm a couple of miles away and they would occasionally take one day and go and work on those farms.

CA: And of course Miss Aryee, recently the PNDC re-opened Ghana's borders with Ivory Coast and Togo. Is that an indication that there has been a considerable improvement in the relations between Ghana and those two countries?

JA: Yes and no. You see, the thing is that the closure of the borders had nothing to do with strained relations. It was a purely economic decision. As you well know, smuggling was on such an increase that even the little things that we were producing were finding their way to both Togo and Ivory Coast.

#### Points

So it was purely for economic reasons that we closed the borders. And as you'll remember we wanted sometime ago to open four points because we felt that we had enough security to deal with those four points and naturally because of the advantages that those countries have from the smuggling activities they wanted all opened, knowing that a lot of paths and so on would be opened. But we have discussed all these issues and I think all three countries—Ghana, Ivory Coast and Togo--have sat down and discussed at length what should be done to forestall the reasons which went into the closure of the borders.

Our relations have always been good. We have protested whenever we have felt that either side has not done something that we believe ought to be done. But the relations were never bad.

[25 Jul 84 p 3]

[Text] CA: And I will like to say that it is always golden opportunity to have a lady minister or a minister from a developing country coming to Europe to clarify certain issues that one may not be very well aware of. Now, there has been a report about Ghana in the sense that arrangements are going on for Cuban troops to come to Ghana to sort of strengthen the security of the ruling PNDC, and we wonder whether this is actually true.

JA: It always makes me laugh, because it is one of the most preposterous things that can be said. The speculation is that because part of the discussions going on in southern Africa may mean that Cuban troops have to leave Angola, they would find some other place to go.

#### Invitation

But I keep telling people that the Cubans went to Angola precisely at the invitation of the Angolan government and to help them fight a war against South Africa. So they didn't go there even to strengthen internal security which is what people are saying they are coming there for.

The Cubans would never go anywhere to strengthen internal security, because internal security is something that no other sovereign state should get involved in. But Angola was waging a war against another country and just as Vietnam sometime ago asked America to go and help them fight a war, that was the same reason why Angola asked the Cubans. So the Cubans would not even agree to go and strengthen anybody's internal security. So the question does not even arise.

Besides, I think that we can deal with our own internal security as we have done. If we couldn't then the number of attempts that went on could have toppled the government.

You see this time the defence of the nation is not only in the hands of the forces. The people are politicised enough to also provide a certain amount of internal security, because in the final analysis it is the strength and the politicisation of the people which prevents internal skirmishes. Even if we have a war with our neighbours I think our soldiers can deal with it. We don't need anybody from outside.

But the speculation is to create disaffection among the forces at home, because people will feel that their positions are threatened if so many foreign soldiers are coming inside the country just for internal security. And these dissidents are hoping that by using that kind of speculation they can create disaffection amongst the soldiers at home and perhaps get some of them to agree to topple the regime.

Another angle is that because some of the advanced nations, especially the United States, do not have very warm relations with Cuba if you say that the Cubans are coming to Ghana it would automatically affect relations between Ghana and the United States for example. But as I keep saying,



some of the developed countries have such fascinating and such well-advanced intelligence system that if Cuban troops were coming to Ghana, I can assure you that they will know even before the dissidents did and they would have raised sufficient rumpus over it. But since these countries insist that they don't know anything about it, the dissidents have a problem on their hands because they have to convince everybody else.

CA: We may say that every country has the sovereign right to deal with another country in whatever field it likes. And the sympathisers of Ghana's are saying that well they see a probable invitation of Cubans into Ghana in the light of the stationing of French troops in the Ivory Coast...

JA: As I said, we don't have the kind of problems or the kind of relationships. You see, if you talk about the stationing of French troops in Ivory Coast...you see, the kind of relationships that the French have with their former colonial powers is quite different from the kind of relationships we have with others.

We believe that we can always solve our internal affairs and we don't need outsiders to come and help us solve our internal affairs. And this is quite clear throughout Ghana's independence. Even at the time when bombs were being thrown against Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah we didn't need any external forces to come and help us. And it is even better now because our soldiers are better trained, there are many more of them. Our people are also consciously aware of how to defend our sovereignty.

Trick

So once again I would say that the trick is a little misplaced. I think people should think of more subtle things. This one is a little grotesque and it wouldn't help anybody.

CA: Well, Miss Aryee, I wouldn't like to take too much of your time but to conclude our interview I want to ask you what you hope to benefit from this visit to West Germany?

JA: I think interaction always produces positive results. You see a gap in communication always creates a problem and when people meet and they exchange ideas, even if they do not agree, there is a level of understanding that is established. And this level of understanding ensures at least an open-mindedness which is always important in relations.

So for the German government, for the German officials as well as for the Ghanaian community, I think interaction, this one-in-one interaction has created a certain level of understanding and at least now people will take wild rumours with a pinch of salt. And then the dissidents who always hope that as a result of the communication gap they can rouse people's emotions will find that at least the interaction has created a better understanding and a more open mind and people are going to ask many more questions when they come with their wild stories.

CA: Well, I thank you very much for affording us this opportunity to clarify these points about Ghana. But just as I told you I was going to end the interview something came into my mind again and it is about the political situation in Ghana.

You know we have cases of Ghanaians coming to West Germany here to seek political asylum on the grounds that there is persecution, either on account of religion, on account of politics and things like that.

Is there any justification for people to give these reasons to the German authorities in order to secure political asylum?

JA: Of course not. I think the German people show that and those who come also know that the reason why they have to find such excuses is that if they really gave the correct reason for coming here, which is usually to seek greener pastures, they would be turned down. Because, on account of the world recession the German government feels that the pastures are not so green as to be able to withstand additional seekers of employment, because they have a [few words illegible] (unemployed) people, plenty of them.

And as you know, as far as the German laws are concerned, immediately after the second world war there was a law to make it easy for nationals, Germans, who as a result of the war had been split into two, to come here and they had a vague clause called "human rights as a result of political persecution" that is always vague. And I think that in truth everybody knows that it is an albatross. I am sure they wished they had a way of changing the laws.

Reason

So once people come in and they use such reason, according to the law they have to be given a chance to prove their case. The incidence of approving political asylum is such as to prove that almost everybody who comes here is lying. But when you know democracy has its share of hypocrisy in the sense that here you are saying that well, if there is human rights violation you can come and stay here and so you go through the process of going to court, paying money and so on and so forth even though you know that it isn't true.

Well, it is a price to pay for democracy and it is a good price. So they have to go through the process. People would continue to lie to them, but they have to live with it because it is a situation that they have created.

CA: Thank you very much.

CSO: 3400/2038

CBS RELEASES POPULATION FIGURES

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 1 Aug 84 pp 1, 4

[Article by Kojo Sam]

[Text] The present population of Ghana is 12,205,574, the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) has announced.

According to an official statement issued in Accra on the preliminary results of the 1984 Population Census presented by the Government Statistician, the last population census of the country which was taken in 1970 was 8,559,313.

This shows an increase of 42.6 percent with a growth rate of 2.6 percent.

The CBS announced that Ashanti Region recorded the highest count of 2,089,683 representing an increase of 41.0 percent and showing a growth rate of 2.5 percent. The last figure for Ashanti was 1,481,698.

Eastern Region recorded the second highest with a figure of 1,679,483 as against 1,209,828 in 1970. This indicates an increase of 38.8 percent with a growth rate of 2.4 percent.

Greater Accra Region came third with a count of 1,420,066 representing an increase of 57.2 percent and a growth of 3.3 percent. In 1970 Greater Accra had a population of 903,447.

The CBS further stated that Volta Region followed with a count of 1,201,095 as against 947,268 recorded in 1970. This represents an increase of 26.8 percent with a growth rate of 1.7 percent.

Brong-Ahafo Region came fifth with a figure of 1,179,409. The 1970 figure was 766,509. This represents an increase of 53.9 percent with a growth rate of 31 percent.

For the Northern Region, 1,162,645 persons were counted. In 1970 the region 727,618. This represents an increase of 59.8 percent. The growth rate is put at 3.4 percent.

The Central Region followed with 1,145,520 as against 890,135 recorded in 1970. The increase is put at 28.7 percent with a growth rate of 1.8 percent.

Western Region recorded 1,116,930 as against 770,089 recorded in 1970. This represents an increase of 45 percent with a growth rate of 2.7 percent.

Upper East Region followed with a population of 771,584. For 1970 the region recorded 542,858. This represents an increase of 42.1 percent with a growth rate of 2.5 percent.

The Upper West recorded a figure of 439,161 as against 319,865 filed for 1970. This represents an increase of 37.3 percent with a growth rate of 2.3 percent.

CSO: 3400/2038

## NDC RETAINS CONTROL OVER DEFENSE COMMITTEES

Accra GHANAIAAN TIMES in English 24 Jul 84 p 1

[Text] No organization or individual outside the NDC structure has the power to dissolve any Defence Committee or remove its executives, or in any way claim direct supervision over Defence Committee matters.

The Defence Committees are organizations with clear boundaries and all problems within them could be discussed only within the framework of the Defence Committee itself or within the Co-ordinating structure of the NDC.

These were contained in a statement issued by the Ministry of Information in Accra yesterday.

Any person or group of persons with complaints against a Defence Committee or its members should report the matter to either the Zonal, District or Regional Defence Committee Secretariats, the statement directed.

It noted that two years after the emergence of the Defence Committees, a pattern of problems had emerged, regarding Internal organization of WDCs and elections.

Section 3(b) of the Guidelines on the organization of WDCs, according to the statement, stipulated that "in large work places with distinct departments, any department with 10 or more workers may form its own WDC and a Co-ordinating Committee shall be set up to co-ordinate the departmental WDCs within the establishment."

It explained that the provision for departmental WDCs, where they could be set up in accordance with the guidelines, was not aimed at frangmenting the front of WDCs, by creating several independent and competing WDCs. Rather, it was aimed at building a structure of the WDC to enhance its democratic character and improve its effectiveness.

The statement directed that henceforth, the election and re-election of WDC executives should be preceded by departmental WDC elections with two of the departmental officers, namely co-ordinator and secretary, joining the Co-ordinating Committee.

It directed further that the chairman, secretary, organizing secretary and treasurer of the Co-ordinating Committee be elected in the established manner by direct vote of all the workers of the establishment.

According to the statement, membership of Defence Committees were open to all persons prepared to uphold and defend the basic objectives of the Revolution and with proven record of patriotism, integrity and democratic practice.

To this end, it said "all persons who seek to become defence committee executives must in addition to satisfying the general provisions of the guidelines, show a proven record of active participation in the defence committee for at least a period of one year prior to the date of the elections."

CSO: 3400/2108

STUDENT, YOUTH ASSOCIATION CONVENTION PREVIEWED

Accra GHANAIAAN TIMES in English 19 Jul 84 p 4

[Article by Samuel Amegah]

[Text] The Ghana United Nations Students and Youth Association (GUNSA) holds its 21st Annual convention at the Auditorium, University of Ghana, Legon, from the 20th-24th of this month.

Converging at the University campus for the national convention would be delegates of GUNSA branches in the schools and colleges in the country and representatives of other United Nations students and youth affiliated bodies in the world.

Of the latter category are the Sierra Leone United Nations Students and Youth Association (SLUNSA), which has had very cordial relations with its Ghanaian counterpart over the years, the All Nigerian United Nations Students and Youth Association (ANANUSA), World Federation of United Nations Association (WFUNA), the International Students and Youth Movement of the United Nations (ISMUN) whose president, Mr Bright Akwetey, is a Ghanaian State Attorney and a host of others.

Issues

Unlike previous conventions, this year's has attracted an unusually large number of participants both national and foreign which is an indication of the organizational ability of GUNSA in bringing together a diversified group of the world's youth as a foundation for achieving global peace.

Traditionally, GUNSA has always held its annual convention during the long vacation to enable its student members to attend such a gathering. As students committed to the realization of the tenets of the United Nations, the convention presents the participants with a forum to appraise world issues, articulate their voice on burning global dilemmas as their contribution to the creation of a world devoid of racism, antagonisms and divisiveness.

Among other things, the convention would try to probe for the root causes of conflicts in the comity of nations, recommend measures to adopt for the creation of "greater equity in international economic relations and to help establish conditions in which human dignity will be fully upheld and respected." In this vein it becomes more pertinent that delegates from student and youth organizations in Africa in particular are attending the convention in furtherance of brotherliness and understanding among Africa's future leaders as the springboard for closing the ever-widening gap between the exploiting countries and the rich-but-poor African continent.

#### Theme

The invitation also of other Ghanaian youth to the convention must produce the desired milieu for social interaction and remove certain negative attitude towards students so that concrete attempts could be made to enable the youth in a concerted effort to help find a panacea to the many staggering socio-economic problems facing the country.

In terms of regular organization of symposia to broaden the outlook of students and the youth on global issues, GUNSA stands supreme and is the most respected among the country's students' groups. However, the convention serves as the mouthpiece of the association in the formulation of plans for the future of the association. It is also at the convention that the new national executives are elected into office.

And as if by design, this year's convention has as its theme "A responsible youth for better Ghana" which invariably sums up the message of the International Youth Year (IYY) of 1985. Running parallel to this important theme is the selection of an equally important national figure, Dr Obed Asamoah, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who would open the floodgates of progressive ideas and discussions for the convention.

A nation that has a substantial proportion of its population constituting the youth who are patriotic, sensible, hard-working, God-fearing and above all studious has the greatest asset to boast of.

Unfortunately, the truth of this is a far cry in Ghana. How many times have not well-meaning people called on our youth especially the student component, to desist from wasting their time in discos and dance halls, to stop the urban drift for non-existent white-collar jobs and help develop their rural settings?

#### Victims

That these pieces of advice have fallen on deaf ear is accentuated by the negative lifestyles of the elderly people in the society to our own detriment. Besides, the youth have become victims of mal-administration and unprogressive decisions taken by those placed in positions of high authority.



For example, the Progress Party government in 1969 decided to send out of this country aliens (who were supposedly assuming monopolist positions in certain key sectors of our economy) instead of devising measures to curb their nefarious activities and allowing them to stay on. In 1983, 14 clear years later, Ghanaians in Nigeria were paid back in their own coin at a time some of the brains behind the 1969 decision were relaxing in their graves. And most of those who suffered the Nigerian deportation were kids at the time the Aliens Compliance Order was invoked! This is how decisions taken by people can affect even their great grandchildren when they themselves are dead and gone.

#### Decision-making

There is the need, therefore, to involve the youth organizations in the decision-making process at all levels. It is only then that their capabilities could be given a free rein to operate for the good of the society and to absolve the leaders of any repercussions affecting the youth since decisions would have been collectively taken.

Normally, when students converge for similar gatherings, a number of unsavoury incidents are recorded. Principal among them being the use of the occasion for the mere exchange of addresses and such frivolities and worst of all indulgence in immoral practices. Not with GUNSA the most dynamic and dedicated student group in the country, anyway.

Incidentally, GUNSA's general secretary, Mr Godwin Dogbey is a member of the committee for the IYY. Having been with the association for almost two decades and travelled widely on GUNSA tickets, he should be able to prove equal to the task ahead. The convention must not be made into an orientation course where a series of lectures would have to be boringly delivered. Some form of recreational activity should find practical expression in the programme for the 4-day long session. Say an operation sweeping of Madina Market.

What progressive forces and organizations would want to see of GUNSA at this convention is the avoidance of reflecting neutrality in its deliberations because it is a universally accepted fallacy to claim to be neutral. The convention must come up with practical measures which could involve and incorporate the efforts of students and youth of this country into the master programme of rebuilding mother Ghana.

Indeed, the 21st Annual Convention must be a convention with a difference. The foreign delegates must have something to cheer and talk about back in their countries for years.

CSO: 3400/2108

RAWLINGS ADDRESSES STUDENTS IN CUBA

Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 26 Jul 84 pp 1, 3

[Text] The Chairman of the PNDC, Flt-Lt Jerry John Rawlings, on the second day of his state visit to Cuba on Tuesday, told Ghanaian students studying on the Isle of Youth that their "studies is part of the struggle to acquire new knowledge for the benefit of your homeland."

Accompanied by Finance and Economic Planning Secretary Dr Kwesi Botchwey, and Mr Kofi Djin, Secretary for the Interior, the Ghanaian Leader told the 610 students of "Heroes of Bairet" that "Ghana's problems, its sequels of poverty and under-development are those of Africa and other Third World countries."

He said "I am not surprised that the African Unity which we so much desire and the struggle of such basic principle come from you and the other young people from other African countries who are studying and forming themselves here."

According to the Cuban News Agency, Prensa Latina, the Chairman's address which was in a form of a warmly chat was greeted with cheers from the students, who scored 99.8 percent in their end of year examinations.

Flt-Lt Rawlings told the students to keep discipline and take their studies seriously to enable them to absorb the concept which "are going on to make us more independent and reach higher stages in the struggle for the sovereignty of our country."

According to Prensa Latina, Dr Botchwey and Mr Djin also addressed the students.

Flt-Lt Rawlings and his entourage later attended a colourful folklore by students from the Sahroui Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), Angola and Nicaragua.

The delegation also toured ceramic factories, the city of New Gerona and visited a national monument.

The Ghanaian delegation to the Isle of Youth was accompanied by Mr Jorce Risquest, a member of the party's Politburo and Mr Jose Fernandez, a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party.--GNA

CSO: 3400/2108

## PRIVATE NEWSPAPERS URGED TO REORGANIZE RURAL SERVICES

Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 28 Jul 84 p 8

[Article by Douglas Akwasi Owusu]

[Text] Publishers of private newspapers have been urged to re-organize their regional services efficiently so that the rural population could benefit from newspaper reading.

At a meeting with the publishers and their editors in Accra yesterday, the Secretary for Information, Miss Joyce Aryee, observed that they had concentrated their activities mainly in Accra, to the detriment of the rural communities.

"We talk of decentralization. But a decentralization that remains on paper including our own papers, is no decentralization at all," she stressed.

Miss Aryee said while the Government did not control the publishing industry, it would take a positive appraisal of what it could do and how the newspapers' activities could be streamlined to ensure effective use in the economic development of the nation.

The Information Secretary was not happy about the "mush-rooming" of newspapers in the country, and said unless an in-built mechanism was established to check this, there would not be enough newsprint to go round.

"There is no point in printing newspapers whose contents do not reflect national aspirations," she said, and noted that many publishers were only in the industry for monetary benefits without thinking of the quality production which must seek to transform society.

Miss Aryee said her Ministry had on its records 60 private press institutions made up of 34 weeklies, nine each of fortnightlies and monthlies, two quarterlies, a daily and one feature-service paper.

With such a number and the scarcity of newsprint, the Government had to take far-reaching decisions to ensure that the industry was put to proper use.

The Secretary urged the private publishers to constitute themselves into one body, and ensure that the incompetent ones among them were weeded out.

This, she said, would streamline the industry, assess standard and also enable the Government to plan ahead in terms of supply of inputs, adding "when we have so little inputs, we must think of quality."

CSO: 3400/2108

ESTABLISHMENT OF FOOD STORAGE DEPOTS PROPOSED

Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 19 Jul 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Self-Help Storage"]

[Text] Nana Atta Kwasi Brembi II, Omanhene of Suaman-Dadieso and president of the Western Region House of Chiefs, has appealed to traditional councils in the country to liaise with the PDCs to establish self-help food storage depots to take in the current good harvests, particularly corn. This is a worthwhile suggestion which should be seriously considered by all concerned.

At the moment a lot of people are putting much expectation in whatever steps the Government will take to get the grains stored for the lean period. This means that state organizations such as the Food Distribution Corporation, Ghana National Procurement Agency, and GNTC are expected to attend to storage in a big way. However, the question is, how well are these organizations equipped to fulfill this task?

The Food Distribution Corporation is the main organization which can take up the task of storage of grains on the large scale. But even if it has the storage facilities to store all the excess grains, it is clear that it has not got the money for buying all of it for storage. The organization says it will require C6 billion to buy off what it has estimated to be the excess expected from the harvests. But we would be amazed if the corporation is able to get even one-third that money. So with all the goodwill and enthusiasm to store all the surplus produce from the system, the corporation may not have the means to accomplish it.

So if we are going to put all hopes for storage on these organizations, we would again be experiencing what happened before, when we had to throw fish back into the sea or destroy a lot of it because there was no ready market for the surpluses and no adequate storage facilities for them. And we would also repeat the case when there was too much food for some two months and not enough soon after that because we could not store for the future the surplus foodstuffs during the bumper harvests. So we had to suffer undeserved shortages later.

A repetition of this situation can be avoided through the localized self-help storage measures being suggested by Nana Brembi. Several alternatives are available. Every town and village is supposed to have a Community (People's) Shop. Each Shop should find money to buy grains for storage. The storage could be the traditional barn raised on sheds and occasionally heated by firewood fire lit under the barn. The money for buying the grains could be collected by a levy per head which would represent each contributor's deposit against allocation of the grains when they are being sold during the lean season. Or the money can come from whatever community funds each town or village PDC has saved in the bank.

Apart from such collective storage facilities, each household may buy now whatever grains it can for storage. In the rural areas the storage of grains in large baskets or other suitable containers on a shed raised above the kitchen hearth for constant heating when meals are being cooked is still useful and easy to provide. Our forefathers, fathers and mothers have used this method to preserve grains for long periods before the white man's too-known technology silos were invented. In the urban areas, most workers are capable of buying, say, a bag of corn now and sun-drying it at suitable intervals to keep the grains intact for use later. For the single room workers, the favourite storage place under the bed is still there.

The idea is that everyone should do something to store some grains now. The Food Distribution Corporation will do its work by all means. But when it starts to sell its stored grains in the lean season it may cost the buyer far more than it would cost him if he stores his own grains now. Workers should remember this. So the self-help storage suggestion is hugely worthwhile and sensible.

CSO: 3400/2108

COMMENTARY ON REHABILITATION OF WESTERN RAIL LINE

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 18 Jul 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Full Speed Ahead"]

[Text]

**LAST Friday, July 13, we carried a report that the evacuation of bauxite, manganese, timber and cocoa has resumed following the rehabilitation of the Western Rail line by the Ghana Railway Corporation.**

**The Western line runs from Takoradi to Kumasi through Tarkwa, Prestea, and Obuasi, and according to official sources in the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, some 2,000 tonnes of bauxite has already been transported to Takoradi port in two weeks.**

**The GRAPHIC salutes the construction team from Ghana Railway Corporation whose hard work has made this achievement possible.**

**The rehabilitation of the Western line would not have been possible if it had not been for those timber companies who responded to the call by Mr Kwesi Renner, Secretary for Lands and Natural Resources, to provide monthly supplies of wooden sleepers to enable the programme to go on.**



**The GRAPHIC notices with concern however, that the programme of rehabilitating our railway lines has been slow due to some timber companies' refusal or failure to provide sufficient sleepers to enable the job to go on.**

**We recall that at a recent meeting at Takoradi with timber firms, Mr Renner appealed to them to buck up with the supplies of the sleepers. Indeed, the Secretary showed the importance of these supplies by stating that only firms which provide evidence that they have delivered their quota of sleepers will get inputs like tyres, for their vehicles.**

**The importance of rehabilitating our railway line cannot be overstated. An inspection of the operational costs of a large timber company reveals that rail transportation cost from the mill to Takoradi Harbour is 390 per cent cheaper for logs, and 297 per cent cheaper for sawn timber than road transportation.**

**In plain terms, it costs about FOUR TIMES as much to transport logs by road and THREE TIMES as much to transport sawn timber by road.**

**It is therefore, in the interest of the timber companies themselves to ensure the speedy rehabilitation of the remaining railway lines by providing the wooden sleepers necessary for the programme to go on.**

**Apart from the goods which will travel more cheaply by railway, steps can then be taken by the government to modernise our railway system by introducing new and more efficient passenger coaches.**

SUCCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH VALCO NOTED

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 20 Jul 84 p 2

[Editorial: "A Fairer Deal"]

[Text]

**ONE of the most welcome pieces of economic news since the completion of the Akosombo Dam, no doubt, was the recent announcement that after 18 months of patient negotiations involving six rounds of hard bargaining, an agreement covering all aspects of VALCO's operation had been reached between the people and Government of Ghana on the one hand and the US Reynolds Metal and Kaiser Aluminium's subsidiary, VALCO, on the other hand.**

**Not only is VALCO to pay a fair and realistic price for its consumption of power from Akosombo, after buying it for a song and dance all these years, but it is also to pay more for port, water and property rates:**

**VALCO is further obliged to implement a programme to control the environmental hazards which result from the operation of the smelter.**

**Again, the clauses in the original agreement which sought to prevent the legislative competence of Ghana in offensive language have been removed. The master agreement is now to be governed by the laws of Ghana, which as always, is in keeping with international law.**

**The GRAPHIC wishes to express its gratitude to the members of the Ghana Technical Committee and the Negotiating Team, especially, those young Ghanaians on the team who in the words of Professor Akilagpa Sawyerr, the leader of the team, had "no prior experience of negotiation" for bringing that task to a conclusion.**

**Some international opinion at the outset of the negotiation seemed to expect some brusque, high-handed treatment. Even outright take over was heard being whispered in some quarters by those who also saw the first shutdown of the potlines last year as some kind of blackmail rather than a necessity caused by the falling level of the Volta Lake.**

**But our team of negotiators have shown, by their patience and reason through the long negotiation, a maturity which can leave no one in any doubt that Ghana's only motive was to establish a fair deal.**

**The original Volta Hydro-electric Project was envisaged as an integrated scheme to mine and process Ghana's own bauxite, using power from the dam which would also supply other domestic and industrial consumers.**

**Ghana was in a hurry to translate this into reality. But being unable to raise the financing for the dam, Tema harbour and township, the smelter, the resettlement of people displaced by the lake, and the opening up of bauxite deposits, all at the same time, we found ourselves pushed by impatience into a crippling agreement.**

**Our vast bauxite deposits remained idle, whilst Jamaican bauxite was mined, carried to the USA to be refined into alumina, and then brought to VALCO for smelting. This is still the case, but at least, we are no longer committed to supplying power at laughably cheap rates for years to come, or to providing other concessions at exploitative rates. Other multinationals which have their subsidiaries in this country should take note.**

**The PNDC Government, the GRAPHIC can vouch, has no intention of rushing into any hasty action which will unsettle the favourable climate for investment. But it is our belief that where agreements have been entered into which deprive the people of Ghana of the just fruits of the country's resources, it should be expected that fair and firm negotiations will be initiated, pursued and implemented to set the balance right.**

TUC SOLIDARITY FOR NICARAGUA BACKED

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 23 Jul 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Viva Nicaragua"]

[Text]

**LAST week the Trades Union Congress expressed unflinching solidarity with the oppressed people of Central America, and particularly with the people of Nicaragua in their just struggle to be free from oppression, hunger and want.**

**Launching the Solidarity week last Monday, Mr A. K. Yankey the Secretary General of the TUC asked Ghanaians not to think that what is going on in Central America is too far away to be of concern to us.**

**On the contrary, he observed, the aspirations of the oppressed peoples in the region were identical to our own.**

**He noted that the ordinary people of Latin America notably Guatemala, El Salvador, and Panama were fighting for social justice and meaningful democracy against aggression by counter revolutionary mercenaries trained and backed by big money and the American CIA.**

**The truth and importance of what the Secretary General of the TUC said is re-inforced by the fact that despite the many important things which need doing at home, the Chief Cadre of the Revolution, Flt-Lt J. J. Rawlings, accepted an invitation by the Nicaraguan Government to participate in celebrations marking the FIFTH ANNIVERSARY of the Sandinista Revolution and left for Managua last Wednesday with some secretaries and government officials.**

**There are many other reasons why the Trades Union Congress should find it fit to declare a week of solidarity with the people of Nicaragua as there are for the visit of the Chairman of the PNDC and his delegation.**

**To begin with, Ghana and nations like Nicaragua, El Salvador belong to that group of countries who are united by the solidarity of the oppressed.**

**This unity is the natural consequence of our common desire to emancipate ourselves from mental slavery, and our refusal to be cast in the role of the hewers of wood and fetchers of water and to take our God-given and inalienable right to decide our own destiny.**

**There is another aspect which unites Ghana and Nicaragua. We are both evolving our own systems founded on our own experiences, on our surroundings, and on our particular cultures. This is viewed with suspicion by a section of the World Powers because this confounds their patterns which are prescribed by the political science text-books.**

**What must further link the two countries most is that in both Ghana and Nicaragua, peasant farmers are the backbone of our nations. In the past, the role of the vanguard against neocolonialism, aided by a local elite minority, was played by urban workers and intellectuals.**

**In both countries, the recognition has dawned that the peasant whose sweat, blood and tears had fed the intellectuals and built the roads, factories, and the developmental structures, must now be heard.**

**Others have spoken for them for far too long. It is their turn to cease to be mere onlookers. It is their turn to lead our nations with the wisdom of the land, which they had tilled all these centuries, as they gain more confidence to express and act on their age old wisdom.**

**Los Pueblo Vencera — The People WILL Win!**

EFFORTS TO IMPROVE STATE ENTERPRISES PRAISED

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 31 Jul 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Towards Profitability"]

[Text]

**YESTERDAY, Squadron Leader M. K. Sowu, the Project Coordinator of State-owned Enterprises Study Project met chief executives, chief accountants and production managers. He revealed at the meeting that the government has obtained 664,000 dollars to study ways of making state enterprises more viable and profitable.**

**We can only say a loud "hallelujah" to this piece of good news. Fact is, efforts to make our state enterprises more profitable are long overdue. For, if the truth were to be said (and of course it must be said) our enterprises by and large have not lived up to expectation.**

**During Nkrumah's era, and consistent with the political and economic philosophy of that regime a lot of capital was invested in the state sector for the production and distribution of goods and also for rendering essential services. Such investment resulted in the creation of the several state enterprises which exist today, as successive governments added to the original list.**

**We have nothing against state enterprises, in fact we endorse them IN PRINCIPLE because above every other consideration, they can strengthen the hand of the state economically. Thus progressive governments use such power to develop strong economies in the interest of the people.**

**But in practice we have seen our enterprises totter on the brink of bankruptcy. In fact many of them are still in business thanks to the regular hand-outs from the national coffers.**

**Sometimes, due to the poor performance of state enterprises there are cries for privatization. But in countries where state enterprises have been returned or sold to private business people they have been made viable only at a huge social cost, such as creating unemployment.**

**Under the circumstances we believe that a thorough study of our state enterprises as this project is going to do is a very effective means of finding out what ails them and what can heal them.**

**But we must caution that it will not do for a study to merely rely on universal but abstract concepts for or against state enterprises to draw conclusions. We must study the problems as they are on the ground.**

**And any recommendation must be towards what we need, which in the words of Sqn. Ldr. Sowu is "to make the state enterprises more viable to enable the nation reap the full benefits of the huge investments made in them."**

## DISTRICT OFFICERS TO HANDLE BUDGETS

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 23 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by E.A. Andam]

[Text]

**AS from next June, District Budget Officers throughout the country will be responsible for the drawing up of all district composite budgets.**

The appointment and assumption of office of these officers will mark the beginning of the government's decentralisation programme.

This is to ensure that all government departments represented at the districts come under the direct control of the various district administrations.

Mr Kwei Addai, Ajumako-Enyan-Essiam District Secretary, announced this in his contribution at a symposium organised for civil servants in the district at Ajumako at the week-end.

Mr Kwesi Adjei who spoke on the topic: "The Decentralisation Programme and the Revolu-

tion" noted that most heads of government departments represented in the district do not seem to subscribe to the idea of being immediately accountable to the district administration.

He pointed out that coming under the district administration is not aimed at undercutting their positions but that it was necessary for the smooth implementation of the decentralisation policy which aims at harnessing all resources available in each district for faster economic and social development.

In this light, he argued that the whole programme would be stifled if the present arrangement whereby district heads of departments are accountable only to their regional bosses persisted.

The District Secretary therefore appealed to the heads of departments to stop entertaining fears and work diligently for the smooth transition into the decentralised administration.

Mr Ato Ghansah, District Co-ordinator, in his contribution told the audience that the defence committees concept proclaimed after the December 31 action is aimed at ensuring mass participation at every level of decision making.

CSO: 3400/2038



# IGP CALLS FOR CALM IN BAWKU

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 21 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by Iddrisu Seini]

[Text]

**THE Inspector-General of Police (IGP), Mr S. S. Omane, has appealed to Mamprusis and Kusasis to exercise restraint in their conflict and assist security agencies to maintain law and order in the area.**

Mr Omane who spoke to the two factions separately pointed out that Ghana is a unitary state and that Ghanaians have only two enemies to fight against. These are internal aggressors and hunger.

To this end, it is imperative for the two factions to avoid unnecessary bloodshed.

The government, however, the police chief explained, is pre-occupied with ways and means of improving the lot of the people and that it should not be saddled with unnecessary problems.

The IGP who arrived at Bawku on Thursday by helicopter for an on-the-spot assessment of the situation also asked members of the Police Service, Border Guard personnel and a detachment of the Airborne Force who are on operational duties to comport themselves even in the face of provocation and remain disciplined.

He was accompanied by Mr Ofori Debrah, Assistant Commissioner of Police in charge of the Upper East Region and Mr S. Adakura, Chief Superintendent of Police.

Meanwhile, life is returning to normal in the Bawku township.

It would be recalled that 24 people were killed and 30 others wounded, some of them seriously during a bloody clash between the Mamprusis and Kusasis at Bawku last week-end. Forty houses and a number of vehicles were also burnt to ashes.

# PRELIMINARY CENSUS RESULTS REPORTED

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 2 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by Yaw Asante]

[Text] The preliminary results of the 1984 population census were presented, as promised by the Government Statistician, at the end of June.

Table I gives a general picture of the numbers enumerated in the regions and in the country as a whole, compared to the numbers enumerated in the 1970 Census.

For the whole country, the 1970 figure of approximately eight and a half million has grown to over twelve million in a period of 14 years--an increase of 42.6%.

It should be remembered that not every Ghanaian was counted in either of these census exercises.

Ghanaians abroad, if they were to be included, would add another million or more, and a few people inside Ghana may have escaped the attention of the census enumerators.

## Implication

But although the total of 12,205,574 may be less than the actual number of Ghanaians, the increase of 42.6% reflects the pattern of population growth in most Third World countries.

In these countries, population is doubling within a period of 30 years or less.

The grave implication of this rapid population growth is that production of food, exports, the provision of housing, educational and health facilities, etc. must all grow at the same rapid rate merely to maintain the same standard of living. If conditions are to improve for the masses, then productivity must increase faster than population.

And we are all well aware that this has not been the case. It is only now that Ghanaians are rebuilding the ruins of our economy, shattered by more than a decade of mismanagement, waste and apathy.

[Two paragraphs illegible]

The differences can, to a large extent, be explained by internal migration--that is, the movement of people from one part of the country to another--rather than differences in the rate of reproduction.

The figures therefore indicate that people have, for various reasons, been leaving certain areas and moving to other areas, and the main reason for such movements is generally the search for better economic prospects.

Volumes have been written about the drift of population from the rural areas to the urban areas. Young people seek jobs within reach of the real or imagined attractions of the cities, leaving the elderly farmers to struggle to feed the nation's people and industries.

Some of the preliminary census figures seem to support this picture. Table I shows Greater Accra, with a 57.2%, as the region with the second fastest population growth.

Table II also breaks down the figures for Greater Accra into Local Council areas.

Tema District, with an increase of 86.0%, is an indication of the influx of people seeking jobs in this major industrial area. Accra District, however, has a relatively low increase of 51.7%.

The attraction of the city is less important, unless there are jobs available.

But most surprising is Ga Local Council area, whose population has more than doubled with 100.2%.

Some of this may be due to the spread of Accra beyond the city boundaries, but it may also mean that more people are now farming in the area, as they realise that agriculture can be a more reliable source of income than searching the city streets for limited job opportunities.

In other regions, the figures seem to support this changing trend--a trend of movement away from towns and industrial areas--where jobs have become hard to find, and towards agricultural areas where farmers, even if they are denied some of the amenities of the urban areas, can be sure of feeding themselves and of finding a ready market for their produce.

#### Examples

The Western Region has some striking examples.

Sekondi Takoradi City Council area has grown in population by only 9.0% whilst Tarkwa-Aboso actually has a drop in population at minus 0.6%, but

two predominantly rural areas, Aowin and Juabeso-Bia have grown by 131.4% and 140.3% respectively.

The important food production district of Nkoransa in Brong Ahafo has similarly grown by 130.5% whilst in the Eastern Region, the remote, isolated but agriculturally rich Afram Local Council area has grown by a huge 159.3%, the highest rate of increase in the whole country.

It seems that at long last, Ghanaians are realising that the nation's development must rest on a solid agricultural foundation. People are returning to land and seeing farming as a worthwhile occupation.

This may explain why the Northern Region has the highest average growth rate.

Many people from this region looked to the towns and cities of the south for jobs, but now they are going home in the realisation that the production of rice, yam, groundnuts and other agricultural products is preferable to the uncertainties of urban life.

Therefore whilst the 42.6% national average increase in population over a period of 14 years may be alarming, in that it shows the crucial need for production to catch up with and overtake the growing population if we are to improve our standard of living, the preliminary census results also indicate some reassuring trends.

People are moving into the areas of greatest agricultural potential. Perhaps we can now say that Ghana's agricultural revolution is under way!

**TABLE I**

NAME OF REGION	ENUMERATED POPULATION		% INCREASE
	1970	1984	
<u>ALL REGIONS</u>	8,559,313	12,205,574	42.6
1. Western	770,087	1,116,930	45.0
2. Central	890,135	1,145,520	28.7
3. Greater Accra	903,447	1,420,066	57.2
4. Volta	947,268	1,201,095	26.8
5. Eastern	1,209,828	1,679,483	38.8
6. Ashanti	1,481,698	2,089,683	41.0
7. Brong Ahafo	766,509	1,179,407	53.9
8. Northern	727,618	1,162,645	59.8
9. Upper East	542,858	771,584	42.1
10. Upper West	319,865	439,161	37.3

**TABLE II**

Name of Local Council	ENUMERATED POPULATION		Increase or Decrease
	1970	1984	
<u>GREATER ACCRA</u>	903,447	1,420,066	57.2
1. Ga L/C	66,336	132,786	100.2
2. Shai L/C	11,321	12,605	11.3
3. Accra-Tema cc (Accra Dist.)	636,067	964,879	51.7
4. Accra-Tema c.c. (Tema Dist.)	102,431	190,536	86.0
5. Dangbe L/C	35,459	50,337	42.0
6. Ada L/C	51,833	68,923	33.0

CSO: 3400/2038

## EVOLUTION OF PNDC, NCD DESCRIBED

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 27 Jun 84 pp 1, 4, 5

[Article by Breda Atta-Quayson and Joe Bradford Nyinah]

[Text] The PNDC is not the final shape of Government the December 31 process seeks to achieve for the people of this country.

The Council has, therefore, set itself to identify the problems of a true democracy and shape new democratic institutions to achieve the desired democracy for the people.

But how soon this ideal of achieving a true and functional democracy for the people becomes a living reality will depend on the co-operation of Ghanaians themselves.

Mr Justice D.F. Annan, a member of the PNDC and Chairman of the National Commission for Democracy (NCD) made this statement during a familiarisation meeting with the workers and management of the NCD in Accra yesterday.

The PNDC member said such co-operation from the people in search of a true and functional democracy would help bring into being the needed institutional changes required to bring about the type of government needed for this country.

Flanked by the Information Secretary, Miss Joyce Aryee and the two Deputy Secretaries of the NCD, Mr S. A. Tettey in-charge of operations and Mr E.O. Donkor, in-charge of administration, Justice Annan told the workers that the expansion of the PNDC coupled with his appointment as the Chairman of the NCD is the first step towards achieving the council's declared commitment to evolve new democratic institutions and government for the country.

He called to mind the commitment made by the Chairman of the PNDC, Flt-Lt J.J. Rawlings, at the inception of the December 31 Revolution to create a functional democracy and added that "this still remains the principle of the PNDC."

Miss Aryee in an address said the history of politics in Africa and Ghana in particular shows that "we cannot achieve any meaningful political salvation if we divide the society into two and determine which of them can rule and which cannot."

It is in recognition of this fact, Miss Aryee indicated, that the PNDC wants to create institutions that will involve all sections of the society in the process of government.

For instance, Miss Aryee said, so long as soldiers are made to feel that they could be conveniently left out of government, there would always be coups d'etat in the country.

She explained that the PNDC could not be said to be a military government, taking into consideration its composition.

The Information Secretary stated that a true democracy could be created only through the mass participation of all the people in the society in the process of government.

"Unless we are sufficiently conscientised to be able to determine what our representatives can do, there will be no political peace in this country," Miss Aryee maintained.

She told the workers that the political destiny of this country laid in the effective functioning of the NCD and advised them to live up to their tasks and co-operate with the new chairman to bring about the needed institutional changes in the society.

#### Search for True Democracy

The National Commission for Democracy (NCD) apart from its traditional electoral functions is to formulate ideas and programmes which will give meaning and life to true democracy in Ghana.

This is in line with the PNDC's determination to move away from "democracy by remote control" whereby government is controlled by an elitist group who after elections lose contact with the people.

The new Chairman of the NCD and a member of the PNDC, Mr Justice D.F. Annan, explaining the new functions of the NCD to his staff after a familiarisation tour yesterday, said the NCD is not the old Electoral Commission under a new name.

It is a new organ set up as part of a process of social transformation and reconstruction, he said.

Justice Annan told the staff that the NCD had been placed at the heart of the new concept of democracy which would guide the country in all fields of politics.

He said, in the past, Ghana had witnessed institutional type of democracy but now the emphasis would be on functional democracy, geared towards satisfying the needs of the ordinary man and not the type that could be prostituted to benefit a selected few.

Justice Annan stated that the NCD, established under Section 6 of PNDC Law 42 shall in addition to performing functions related to electoral processes, disseminate within the society the awareness of the objectives of the on-going revolutionary transformation in the interest of real democracy.

Additionally, he said, it will regularly identify from its contact with the people the real needs especially in the remotest areas of the country and among the deprived sections of the community and notify the government constantly of these needs.

The NCD will also assess for the information of the government the limitations to the achievement of true democracy arising from the existing inequalities between different strata of the society and make recommendations for addressing these.

Justice Annan said that the NCD would also monitor the implementation of government policies designed to meet the urgent needs of the Ghanaian population and report to government regularly its observations.

Furthermore, he stated, the NCD would formulate for the consideration of government programmes for a more effective realisation of a true democracy in Ghana and to wind up the political parties that were in operation before the December 31 Revolution and recover all assets of such parties for disposal or use by organisations as shall be charged with their disposal or use.

CSO: 3400/2038



NKORANZA POWER PROJECT TO BE COMMISSIONED

ccra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 20 Jul 84 p 4

[Article by Kofi Yeboah-Agyemang]

[Text] The chiefs and people of Nkoranza will have their electricity project commissioned by the end of this year, Nana Owusu Ntrahu Barima II, Adontenhene of the Nkoranza Traditional Area has announced.

The abandoned water project in the area is also to be revived shortly while the council is to procure a roller and grader of its own for the maintenance and construction of roads in the area.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Works and Housing has agreed in principle to allocate 1000 bags of cement every month to the council to put up houses. An initial supply of 500 bags has already been made.

Nana Owusu Ntrahu Barima who is also a member of the Brong Ahafo Regional Mobilization Secretariat made the disclosures at the official inauguration of the Nkoranza District Secretariat of the June 4 Movement.

He stated that plans are well advanced for the settling up of a brick and tile factory at Nkoranza by the Ministry of Rural Development and Co-operatives for the construction of cheaper and durable houses for the people in the traditional area.

Nana Owusu described as erroneous the impression being created in certain circles that the present revolution is being initiated by only young people.

He announced that the Regional Mobilization Secretariat is to organise a two-day seminar for two representatives each from the 20 traditional councils, district mobilization representatives and other organs of the revolution on the burnt cocoa rehabilitation exercise early next month.

Mr Kofi Alisab, branch manager of the local Ghana Commercial Bank, speaking on accountability traced the woes of the nation to the the 1966 coup d'etat which he said had no political direction.

He stressed that the question of accountability is a moral issue.

Mr Alisah urged members of the June 4 Movement to let objectivity, honesty uprightness be their guiding principle.

CSO: 3400/2038

CHOGGO RESIDENTS BUILD DAM

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 18 Jul 84 p 9

[Article by Yaw Boudou-Ayeboufoh]

[Text] The people of Choggo, a suburb of Tamale, have through communal labour and voluntary financial contributions of ¢100 a man and ¢40 a woman, constructed an ¢80,000 dam to provide water for domestic purposes.

Additionally, they have procured 40 bags of cement and 10 trips of gravel and sand for the construction of a two-classroom block extension to the Choggo Primary School.

According to the chairman of the Choggo PDC, Mr Abdul Rashid Mumuni who briefed the 'Graphic' on the contributions of the people, the Choggo Holy Cross Catholic Church donated ¢8,000 whilst a priest of the Church loaned them ¢24,000 to ensure the prompt payment and completion of the project being undertaken by the Ghanaian-German Agricultural Development Project.

Mr Mumuni explained that the interest free loan from the priest would be paid from contributions of some of the people who pleaded to pay their contributions at the end of the farming season.

He disclosed that residents at the Choggo Estates declined to contribute towards the construction of the dam which is about 20 metres from the estates and about 600 metres from the Choggo village even though some of them use water from the dam whenever the Ghana Water and Sewerage Corporation was not operating.

The laudable contribution of the Choggo people came to the notice of the 'Graphic' when there was a mass movement of people from all parts of Tamale to the Choggo area in search of water during a recent acute water shortage that hit the municipality due to lack of fuel for both the Ghana Water and Sewerage and the Electricity Corporations to operate.

It must be stressed that the unavailability of water is the greatest threat facing workers in the Northern Region in general and Tamale in particular to the extent that at times a barrel of water is sold between ¢100 and ¢200 in most parts of the region.

CSO: 3400/2038

PRIORITY TO RURAL BANKS URGED

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 23 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by Albert Sam]

[Text] A traditional ruler has called for strict adherence to the rules and regulations governing the siting and operations of rural banks by the Bank of Ghana to ensure that priority attention is given to rural areas where banking facilities are non-existent.

Barima Adu Gyamfi Poku II, chief of Kuntanase Traditional Area in Ashanti, also stressed the need for a cohesive policy for the efficient and effective operations of rural banks.

Barima Poku was speaking to newsmen at Kuntanase near Lake Bosomtwe shortly after attending the first annual general meeting of the Bosomtwe Rural Bank.

The Kuntanasehene regretted that contrary to Bank of Ghana regulations that rural banks should be sited in rural areas and in areas where there are no commercial banks, many banks were springing up elsewhere to the neglect of most needy areas.

Again the Bank of Ghana, he said, had ignored its regulation that rural banks must have geographical base and that such banks should not be named after the towns where they are sited but after the traditional area.

He also touched on the disqualification of chiefs contesting for directorship of the banks and the rule that the banks should be sited within 20 kilometer radius, both of which have been ignored in most cases.

Barima Poku therefore called for the updating of the rules and regulations governing the setting up of rural banks and their mass circulation to enable all the banks and their shareholders to have copies for study and guidance.

The chief made it clear that there was a yawning information gap between the Bank of Ghana and the managements of rural banks and therefore called for the rectification of this anomaly.

Barima Poku described the rural banking idea as the best arrangement for the rural dweller and called on the authorities to ensure that the system operated in the best interest of the rural people.

SUCCESS OF RAWLINGS MISSION HAILED

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC 3 Aug 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Jerry's Peace Mission"]

[Text] An aspect of the visit of the Chairman of the PNDC, Jerry Rawlings to some countries in Latin and Central America that needs to be emphasised is its peace mission.

Taking into consideration the military and political tensions generated by imperialism in Central America, we have to conclude that the very expression of solidarity with the struggling peoples in that part of the world helps to bring nearer the era of peace. But how is this so?

For centuries the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America have suffered untold hardship as a result of colonialism and exploitation. Since the end of the last century most countries in Latin America gained nominal freedom.

Independence, of course, came to Africa and Asia in this century. However, the independence and sovereignty of the countries of these continents have been severely constrained by neocolonial mechanisms by which they are still exploited even when they are supposed to be free.

Naturally, it is the wish of every oppressor and exploiter that his victim is forever docile and ignorant of his true conditions. But the laws of nature, as exemplified in the dialectic of development, show that where there is oppression there will be a yearning for freedom.

Just as well, we have to understand that as people struggle to be free those who seek to deprive them of their freedom will also be hard at work.

Therefore the tension in the Latin American region should be seen in its proper perspective. What is happening there is a classic example of a struggle between freedom and slavery. The struggle there is being fought over who will control the destiny of the people in Latin America, Central America and the Caribbean.

For peace to reign in that area the struggle must be won decisively by the popular forces. Any other arrangement will fail to bring lasting peace. Of course, we are not advocating a military solution as the means, or the only means, towards a peoples' victory.

But whilst this struggle is going on it is important that the peoples of Asia and Africa and progressive people everywhere give their solidarity to those involved in the struggle. This gives them confidence and raises their morale either for negotiation or for war, if the latter is forced upon them.

The people of Latin America and the Caribbean desire and deserve peace for their development efforts. It is in this light that we commend the call of Ghana and Guyana for the establishment of a zone of peace in that area.

We support also the efforts of the Contadora Group to find a negotiated solution to the problems there. But we must not lose sight of the fact that several experts have identified hunger, poverty, malnutrition and general low standards of living and oppression as the causes of the strife in that part of the Americas.

Thus, the fact that the U.S. government tends to see the hand of Cuba and Moscow behind every rebellion should not obscure the truth from those who seek peace in Latin America.

Flt-Lt Rawlings' denunciation of the efforts to subvert the Nicaraguan and Cuban Revolutions is a clear stand on the side of peace in Central America, Latin America and the Caribbean.

THE GRAPHIC, on behalf of the people of Ghana, welcomes Flt-Lt J.J. Rawlings, Chairman of the PNDC back to Ghana after his prolonged visit which took him to Nicaragua, Cuba, Guyana and elsewhere.

Flt-Lt Rawlings' visit is significant in many respects. It has firmly linked the struggle of the people of Ghana and of other African countries with the struggles of people with similar aspirations on the other side of the Atlantic.

On first assuming office, President Figueredo of Brazil said "the Western Frontier of Brazil is Africa."

It was from the shores of Africa that millions were carried across the Atlantic as slaves.

And we can equally say that "our eastern frontier is the Americas."

In both these areas, there are countries whose people are engaged in similar struggles to transform the social systems which have kept their masses in a state of oppression and mental slavery.

The Chairman's visit strengthens the historical and social links which stretch across the Atlantic and confirms the solidarity of all peoples seeking a just and dignified future.

No doubt whilst the Chairman was promoting solidarity abroad, he was confident of the solidarity and the capability and commitment of his team at home.

CSO: 3400/2038

## ENERGY SURVEY BOARD TO BE ESTABLISHED

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 2 Aug 84 p 1

[Article by Nestor Hoeyi and Eben Quarcoo]

[Text]

### **AN Energy Survey Board is to be set up to examine alternative energy potentialities in the country.**

With the fate of the Akosombo Dam now unpredictable and the results of oil explorations still pending, the government does not intend to wait until the last moment before executing ad-hoc measures to solve the energy problem.

The board shall therefore undertake a constant assessment of the country's energy requirements and rectify the short falls in energy consumption.

The PNDC Co-ordinating Secretary, Mr P. V. Obeng, made this known yesterday to participants in a lecture on the "Policies and Strategies of the PNDC Government" as part of a 14-day refresher course for practising Journalists and Public Relations Officers in Accra.

Mr Obeng pointed out that in keeping with the government's aim of closing the wide gap between foreign exchange consumption and earning po-

sitions, the PNDC attaches great importance and much urgency to finding solution to the energy crisis which at the moment takes a large percentage of the country's foreign exchange earnings.

The Co-ordinating Secretary indicated that the constant rise in the price of crude oil is worsened by the decline in the output of primary products and fluctuations on the world market prices for them.

Alternative energy sources, if found, would therefore not only arrest the energy crisis but also improve the country's foreign exchange earning position. Mr Obeng added.



EEC FUNDING FOR FARMERS REPORTED

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 23 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by Albert Sam]

[Text] The Bank of Ghana has concluded negotiations with the European Economic Community (EEC) for the supply of over C200 million worth of corn-mills and agricultural machinery for allocation to farmers through their rural banks.

In all 60 rural banks out of 83 existing banks which were opened before June 30, 1983, will benefit.

The agricultural machinery include marine engines and materials like fishing nets, cutlasses, wire nets are also to be supplied under the aid agreement.

Mr E.Y. Tamakloe, chief manager and head of the Rural Banking Unit of the Bank of Ghana, disclosed this at the first annual general meeting of the Kwamanman Rural Bank at Kwamang-Ashanti at the week-end.

Mr Tamakloe made it clear that in making the allocation, preference would be given to banks with good performance and therefore appealed to all prospective beneficiaries to ensure their judicious use.

He stated that apart from encouraging farmers and fishermen to achieve increased productivity, the EEC aid was to ensure accelerated rural industrialisation.

Mr Tamakloe appealed to the managements of rural banks to intensify the mobilisation of savings in the farming communities to enable them to have good patronage.

Mr Kwame Owusu, chairman of the board of directors, disclosed that out of a total of C6,184,885 given out as loans, C5,974,885 went to peasant farmers. He, however, regretted that there was an outstanding balance of C3,982,660 which the beneficiaries were refusing to pay back, resulting in a meagre profit of C35,175 declared by the bank as at December 31, 1983.

Mr Owusu announced that the bank had floated more shares and therefore appealed to both old and new shareholders to buy more shares to build up more capital for the efficient and effective operation of the bank.

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COCOBOD REIMBURSES UNPAID FARMERS

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 26 Jul 84 pp 1, 4

[Article by Wendy Asiama]

[Text] The Ghana Cocoa Board has released C8,595,897 to three indigenous banks to be paid to farmers in seven districts in the Brong Ahafo Region whose Akuafo cheques were not honoured by the Ghana Co-operative Bank during the 1983/84 main crop season.

The amount which has been released to the Social Security Bank, Ghana Commercial Bank and the Agricultural Development Bank will be paid to the farmers on behalf of the Co-operative Bank branches in the various districts according to Mr F.A. Achampong, Chief Public Relations Officer of the board.

The banks will use the premises of the Co-operative Bank in the affected areas to effect the payment which started on Tuesday.

The Chief Public Relations Officer named the Co-operative Bank centres where payments would be carried out as Asumura, Bomaa, Kenyasi, Ntotroso, Atronie, Kasampim and Kwapong.

Payment of the outstanding debt of C8.59 million to farmers in the region followed directives issued by the National Cocoa Evacuation Committee about two weeks ago.

It would be recalled that during the 1983/84 main cocoa crop season, the Ghana Co-operative Bank failed to honour Akuafo cheques presented to it by some farmers in Brong Ahafo following the misapplication of monies meant for the payment of cocoa bought from these farmers in the affected areas that season.

It is, however, not known if the Co-operative Bank will be allowed to participate in the payment of Akuafo cheques in the region during the 1984/85 main crop season which is just about to open.

Recently, Mr Kwesi Ahwoi, a member of the National Akuafo Cheque System Monitoring and Implementation Committee (ACMIC), instructed that other banks should move into areas in the Brong Ahafo Region where the Co-operative Bank has monopoly but performed ineffectively.

FARMERS APPEAL FOR PRICE STABILIZATION

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 2 Aug 84 pp 4-5

[Article by E.A. Andam]

[Text] Farmers in the Agona and Winneba districts have repeated their appeal to the government to come out with a programme that will ensure stabilised price and ready market for staple foods, particularly cereals.

This, they said, would encourage increased production of cereals and save them from exploitation by middlemen. It will also end the country's quest for food aid.

The farmers maintained that if the government allowed the price of maize to float to find its level it will discourage increased production.

This appeal was made to the government when the "Graphic" visited some farmers who are currently harvesting their maize.

Most of the farmers said the cost of preparing and maintaining farms this year was more expensive than any other year in view of the increase in the cost of ploughing, fertilizer, labour and other inputs.

The farmers said considering the current prices at which maize in particular are being sold, they stand to lose heavily and that would make the production of these food crops less attractive and eventually discourage most farmers in their attempt to increase production.

The farmers said if they are encouraged with a realistic price stabilization policy they were sure that the country would soon be exporting cereals.

Meanwhile, Yaw Barimah reports from Sekodomase that Mr Alex Fred Agyeman, chief farmer of Sekodomase has also called on the government to stabilise maize price to boost the morale of farmers.

He said when the price of maize is left to find its own level it would ultimately frustrate farmers.

Mr Agyeman made this call when he was speaking to the "Graphic" at Sekodomase.

Mr Agyeman suggested to the government to increase money given to the Food Distribution Corporation to enable it to purchase all the maize produced in the country.

CSO: 3400/2038

## REGIONAL SECRETARIES PLEDGE SUPPORT FOR FARM PROJECT

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 1 Aug 84 p 8

[Article by Iddrisu Seini]

[Text]

**REGIONAL Secretaries have decided to give encouragement to the Ghanaian-German Agricultural Project at Tamale to enable its implements factory to undertake mass production of agricultural implements to meet the needs of small-scale farmers.**

They also commended the policy of the Ministry of Agriculture in establishing a National Agricultural Committee to ensure a fair and equitable distribution of agricultural inputs in the regions.

Similarly, they endorsed the ministry's policy to have exclusive control over all types of agricultural inputs.

These were contained in a communique issued by the Regional Secretaries at the end of their 14th conference which ended at Bolgatanga.

The Regional Secretaries emphasised the need for a stable land tenure system which is essential for the development of the country.

On the distribution of building materials, the Regional Secretaries called on the Ministry of Works and Housing to take steps to rationalise the allocation of building materials in line with the decentralisation policy.

They viewed the perennial eruption of sectional crisis as negative in view of the problem facing the nation and called on all Ghanaians and revolutionary forces to help neutralise these negative tendencies.

The conference was also attended by the Secretaries for Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives and representatives of the National Defence Committee (NDC).

## AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMS, STRATEGIES FOR 1984-86 ANNOUNCED

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 30 Jul 84 p 1

[Text]

**GHANA has embarked on a number of agricultural programmes and other strategies to achieve maximum food production for the period 1984-1986.**

This was stated by Mr John Ndebugre, PNDC Secretary for Agriculture at the 134th Regional Ministerial Planning Session of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) which opened in Harare, Zimbabwe on July 24.

Mr Ndebugre said the programmes included the formation of farmers' organisations to handle food production programmes, provision of irrigation facilities and the establishment of rural service centres and credit facilities.

Mr Ndebugre, leading a four-man Ghanaian delegation, told the session that during the 1983-84 period, Ghana had had to face a food deficit of 280,000 metric tonnes. He said however that in the face of those problems, the people were undaunted as far as their determination to produce and feed themselves was concerned.

"For the purposes of directing agricultural activities, Ghana has just completed compiling an agricultural policy, detailing her section plans and strategies for the 1984-1986," he added.

Mr Ndebugre said Ghana has set modest targets in the production of rice, maize and cassava as well as poultry, livestock, and fisheries since they together formed the bulk of "our food needs."

He said Ghana would need agricultural inputs in the form of chemicals, machinery and equipment as well as

technical know-how, some of which were being met from the country's own resources — human and material.

"However, like all developing countries, we shall need assistance especially, technical assistance to supplement our own efforts."

The Agriculture Secretary therefore renewed Ghana's call to the industrialised and advanced countries to step up assistance in the transfer of appropriate technology to Africa to enable her to transform her natural resources into useable implements of production.

He said Ghana would be pleased to welcome other bilateral donors and international financial organisations to assist with the infrastructure and technical support to implement her grain-stocking policies.

Mr Ndebugre, on behalf of the Ghana Government, paid tribute to the United Nations Organisation and FAO in particular for efforts being made to make the world a better and more peaceful place for mankind.

He commended and thanked the World Food Programme as well as bilateral donors, governmental and non-governmental and international agencies for their direct assistance and support during Ghana's recent difficult times.

Mr Ndebugre extended Ghana's warmest appreciation and thanks to the government and the people of Zimbabwe for hosting the conference and fraternal greetings from the Chairman of the ruling Provisional National Defence Council, Flt.-Lt. Jerry John Rawlings.

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## BRIEFS

**CUBAN ASSISTANCE**--The PNDC Government has identified a number of specific areas of obtaining assistance from Cuba in the fishing and sugar industries. The government has also discussed the possibility of seeking assistance from Cuba in the cultural field. Dr Kwesi Botchwey, Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning disclosed this when he briefed the press on the return of a high-powered government delegation led by the Chairman of the PNDC Flt Lt Jerry John Rawlings, to four countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. Dr Botchwey said the delegation discussed with the Surinam Government the possibility of co-operation in the area of rice cultivation which is well developed. He said the government also discussed with the Surinam Government co-operation in the development of the bauxite industry. [Text]  
[Accra DAILY GRAPHIC in English 3 Aug 84 p 1]

**LIBYAN AGRICULTURAL TEAM**--The four-man Libyan Agricultural delegation which was in the country on a fact-finding tour left Accra last Thursday night after a week long stay. Speaking to newsmen at the Kotoka International Airport in a pre-departure interview, the leader of the delegation, Mr A. Fahima, who is an expert in agricultural education and extension programmes, noted that Ghana has vast potentials in the agricultural sector but said what is lacking are inputs and expertise. As a result, Mr Fahima said Libya would assist by training Ghanaian agriculturists in Libyan institutions to expand their knowledge and also bring in some agricultural machinery. While in the country, Mr Fahima said the team held talks with the Secretary for Agriculture, Mr John Ndebugre and other senior officials of the Agriculture Ministry on how best Libya could assist in enhancing Ghana-Libya co-operation particularly the agricultural sector. He said the team visited pineapple plantations, hatcheries, irrigation and rabbitry projects in the country. The visit of the team, he said, was made possible under the Ghana-Libyan protocol agreement. Other members of the delegation were Mr I. Hafala, Mr M. El-Meshery and Mr M. Zivawani. At the airport to see the team off was the acting Secretary of the Libyan Bureau in Ghana, Mr Omar Ghadhi. [Text] [Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 21 Jul 84 p 5]

**BORDER GUARDS GRADUATE**--Sixty-seven female recruits passed out from the Border Guards Training Centre at Kpeto, in the Volta Region yesterday. In an address at the passing out parade, the Chief Staff Officer at the Border Guard Headquarters, Colonel I.G.M.K. Kpeto emphasised that the role of Border Guard personnel in the country's Economic Recovery Programme is so

vital that any service personnel who will compromise his or her position will be ruthlessly dealt with. He warned that those who join the service with the sole aim of making quick money should back out now or be prepared to face disgraceful consequences. He hoped the training they had received had armed them with the requisite military discipline which will assist them to succeed in their chosen career. Col Kpeto urged them to strive hard to salvage the image of the service which has come under severe public criticism. [Text] [Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 21 Jul 84 p 8]

TEN TOWN COUNCILS--Ten towns within the West Akim District in the Eastern Region are to be created as town councils in accordance with the government's decentralisation policy. Hopefully all will be inaugurated before the end of September this year, Major E.O. Bampoe, West Akim District Secretary, informed the "Graphic" at Asamankese at the week-end. The towns are Adeiso, Mepom, Asamankese, Osenase and Akwatia. The rest are Kade, Asuom, Prankese, Akyem, Techiman and Akyem Wenchi. Major Bampoe said members for the Kade, Mepom and Adeiso councils had already been elected at popular gatherings. The PNDC decentralisation programme which was introduced during the latter part of 1982 aims at creating a new democracy in Ghana that will bring about greater efficiency and productivity in the state machinery through the involvement and effective participation by the people at all levels in administration. Basic features of the new plan is the creation of three-tier system of administrative structure consisting area/town/village councils, district councils and regional councils. With regard to the establishment of village and area councils in the West Akim District, Major Bampoe said the release of the recent country-wide census figures was being awaited to enable the district office to demarcate properly its numerous settlements. He emphasised that for the people to feel the impact of the decentralisation programme, all measures would be taken to ensure that greater part of whatever revenue would come from a particular area remained there for development. [Text] [Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 13 Jul 84 p 8]

TWEAPEASE D-PROJECTS--The chiefs and people of Akyem-Tweapease in the Birim District, Eastern Region, are undertaking self-help projects estimated at C2.5 million. The money for the projects is being raised through contributions of C100 per male and C50 per female at Tweapease and in other surrounding villages. Those around Tweapease have been roped in since they will benefit from the projects when they are completed. Disclosing this to the "Graphic" at the weekend during a visit to the town, the Odikro of Tweapease, Nii Lante Awau, said projects envisaged include a rural bank, a health centre with a maternity block and school blocks. Meanwhile, he said, the people are concentrating on the health centre since the "health of the people must come first." The Secretary to the Town Development Committee, Mr Anyetey Sowa, appealed to organisations and individuals to supply roofing sheets and nails to the people. On his part, the local PDC secretary, Mr Anthony Ayida, appealed for urgent supply of essential commodities including cutlasses, clothing, soap and school uniforms for their children. [Text] [Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 13 Jul 84 p 8]



**MINERALS COMMISSION NAMED**--The PNDC has announced the establishment of a Minerals Commission, constituted under PNDC Law 42 to advise on national policy relating to the exploration and exploitation of mineral resources and also to monitor the performance of all bodies and establishments concerned with minerals. The membership is as follows: Prof Akilagpa Sawyerr, chairman; Mr F. Ohene Kena, Under Secretary, Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources; Mr Kofi Ansah, Executive Secretary, Minerals Commission; Prof K.A.B. Asihene, head of UST, School of Mining and Mineral Engineering, UST and the Director of Investment Centre (to provide bridge between Minerals investment and general investment regime)--all members. Others are Mr Bentum Williams, managing director, Social Security Bank (Expert in Minerals development); Mr K.A. Sagoe, chairman, Lands Commission (Lands Concession Administrator); Mr S.E. Johan, Government Nominee on AGC Board and Deputy Managing Director, Ashanti Goldfields Corp (Mining Engineering and Minerals Economist) and Joe Ahima Danso (Expert in Mining). According to a statement issued in Accra yesterday with the formation of the Minerals Commission, the functions of bodies such as the Aluminium Industries Commission, Iron and Steel Commission will be taken over by this new Commission. [Text] [Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 21 Jul 84 p 4]

**CADRES OUSTED**--The following Cadres of the recently dissolved Volta Regional Defence Committee are forbidden with immediate effect to hold any Defence Committee Office and shall not be part of any Co-ordinating Structure of Defence Committees from the Unit to the national level in any part of Ghana for the next three years. They are Mr Samuel Deku, Agnes Funu and Koku Mensah Akar. This punitive measure has become necessary because of improper behaviour of the Cadres during a field operation in the Nkwanta District of the Volta Region. [Text] [Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 27 Jul 84 p 5]

**GHANA, GUYANA COMMUNIQUE**--Ghana and Guyana have condemned the escalating military situation in Central America and the Caribbean. They have therefore called for the establishment of a peace zone in the area. This is contained in a communique issued in Georgetown after talks between the Chairman of the PNDC, Flt-Lt J.J. Rawlings and President Forbes Burnham of Guyana. The two leaders denounced attempts to subvert the revolutionary process in Nicaragua and declared support for the Nicaraguan people and their struggle to defend the Sandinista Revolution. On the African political scene, Flt-Lt Rawlings and the Guyanese leader called for the granting of immediate independence to Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organisation. Touching on the situation in the Middle East, they said lasting peace can only be possible if the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination is respected and Israeli troops withdrawn from occupied Arab territories. The two sides reiterated the need to establish a new International Economic Order with due respect for the legitimate interests of the developing countries. Flt-Lt Rawlings and Mr Burnham stressed their countries commitment to the Non-Aligned Movement and the need for closer co-operation in international organisations. They also agreed to promote bilateral co-operation between their countries. [Text] [Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 2 Aug 84 p 1]

UPPER VOLTIAN CATTLE--Two articulated truck-loads of cattle have left Paga for Koforidua and Accra as the first consignment under the Ghana-Upper Volta agreement to barter goods. The 50 herd of cattle were received at the Paga quarantine station two weeks ago. After the nine-day quarantine period, the cattle were weighed. Under the agreement, the weight of one cow should not be less than 300 kilograms. The agent for the owners of the cattle, Alhaji Mama Seidu, promised to supply the Meat Marketing Board (MMB) with 1,000 cows every month under the agreement. He has also agreed to supply sheep and goats, beef and mutton to the board. A second consignment of 60 cows is under quarantine of Paga. They will be later sent to Takoradi and Cape Coast. [Text] [Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 3 Aug 84 p 5]

AKWANSREN PALM OIL PROJECT--The Akwansren Oil Palm Project in the Adansi District has within five months made a net profit of ₵3,095,339.10 for its 883-acre plantation. Previously running at a loss and retained under government subvention, the project became autonomous in 1982 when the Government directed that all state farms should generate funds to pay their workers. Mr I.N. Dwomoh, principal plantation manager of the project disclosed these at the weekend when members of the Adansi District Defence Committee led by Mr Albert Owusu-Ansah, the district co-ordinator, visited the farm to acquaint themselves with progress of work there. He said the farm could double its profit if the project had an oil mill. He said they also lacked trucks, wellington boots and cutlasses to expand the farm. Mr Dwomoh said because the farm had no tractor, they were compelled to hire one at ₵2,500 a day and the workers had to walk to and from their places of work because their two trucks had been grounded for lack of tyres. He said that since the farm turned autonomous the District Administration had ceased to supply them with farming inputs which had made work difficult. Mr Owusu-Ansah congratulated the workers and management on their remarkable achievement and asked the WDC to offer constructive suggestions towards the expansion of the farm as well as worker-management relations. [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 23 Jul 84 p 8]

COCOA FARMS REPLANTING--About 2,100 volunteers, mobilized by the Brong-Ahafo regional secretariat of the National Mobilization Committee, have assisted 350 farmers to rehabilitate their cocoa farms. In addition, the volunteers have helped to clear 155 farms of weed. These were made known by delegates at the fourth conference of district liaison officers of the committee here. They announced that more camps for volunteers were to be set up all over the region in addition to those at Duayaw-Nkwanta, Hwidiem, Wamfie and Mpataba, and disclosed that the district secretariats had cultivated their own farms to boost food production. In the Ahafo district alone, there are 51 whilst in the Sunyani district there are eight farms and three cottage industries. [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 23 Jul 84 p 8]

UNDP ASSISTANCE--The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is to assist selected schools, including the Phillip Quaicoe Girl's Primary and some middle schools here, to establish model school farms, Mr F. Mobanda, UNDP director of the Programmes in Ghana, has announced. He said the assistance was in line with the UNDP's recent pledge to continue its support

for PNDC's efforts in the fields of education and agriculture. In an address read by Miss Claire Hamilton, assistant resident representative of the UNDP, who deputized for him as guest speaker at the Speech and Prize-Giving Day of the Philip Quaicoe Girls School here at the week-end, Mobanda said the UNDP decision was to encourage the youth to regard farming as a viable profession. Mr Mobanda pointed out that "the world is changing and we have to adapt ourselves to new situations, we have to produce enough food for ourselves because there will be no manna from Heaven as it used to be in the biblical time." [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 23 Jul 84 p 8]

**AFIFE FARMERS ARRESTED**--Indigenous Afife farmers working at the irrigation site in the Volta Region are reported to have fled the area following the arrest of 27 of their colleagues by the police. Togbe Ashiakpor IV, paramount chief of Wheta, who disclosed this at a press conference in Accra yesterday, said the 27 farmers, arrested last June 15, were being kept at the Abor, Afife and Akatsi police stations without any charges preferred against them. He, therefore, appealed to the Inspector-General of Police to intervene for the release of the farmers because their continued detention was greatly affecting farming in the area. Giving the background of the incident, Togba Ashiakpor said the farmers were working on plots of land allocated to them by the Interim Land Allocation Committee in charge of the Afife Irrigation Project. He said before the arrest, there had been complaints from some of the farmers that some strangers and absentee farmers as well as some officials in charge of irrigating the land had invaded the area and were trying to seize their farms. The chief said he reported the case to the Volta Regional Secretary but while waiting for a reply from him, the farmers reported more incidents to him again on June 15. He advised them to go back and work on their farms without entertaining any fears. That very day, he said, the Afife and Abor Police, allegedly on the orders of the Ketu District Secretary and the District Co-ordinator of PDCs, arrested them while working on their farms causing other citizens of the area to flee. Togbe Ashiakpor called on the Government to publish the report on the committee appointed in 1982 to investigate the Afife Irrigation Project to clear the doubts and misgivings surrounding the project. He appealed also to all citizens in the area who fled during the arrest of the 27 farmers to return immediately without fear of molestation because the matter had been referred to the Government for action. [Excerpts] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 20 Jul 84 p 8]

**FISHERMEN RESENT MINISTRY'S MEDDLING**--The Ghana National Canoe Fishermen Council yesterday asked the Ministry of Rural Development and Co-operatives not to meddle in the affairs of the fishing industry since "it does not fall under that Ministry." To this end, the council, advised Mr K. Acquah-Harrison, Secretary for the Ministry, not to attempt to use his position to infiltrate the ranks of canoe fishermen and divide them. In a statement in apparent reaction to the alleged merger of eight splinter fisherman groups the council reiterated that "it was the only recognized body formed by the fishermen themselves and recognized by the Government to produce fish to feed the nation. "We cannot sit down and allow any big man to assist his

henchmen to infiltrate our ranks, divide us and to have the chance to dupe us again as they did before the Revolution," it noted. The council, therefore, urged Mr Acquah-Harrison to be "cautious and wary of his own friends" who only wanted fishing inputs imported at the instance of the council. It said the GNCFC has the mandate of the PNDC to mobilize canoe fishermen in the country and would resist with all the forces at its disposal any attempt by any individual or group of people to usurp or take away fishermen's right. [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 25 Jul 84 p 1]

BUMPER HARVESTS--Bumper harvests have been recorded in most farming areas in the Upper West Region, an interim report on agricultural performance in the region has indicated. The report, issued by the Office of the Regional Agricultural Task Force Co-ordinator, dealt with crop performance and food production in the first half of the 1984 agricultural year. It indicated that the region had made the highest yields in the cultivation of early beans over the past five years. It disclosed that this year's harvest of beans had doubled, or even tripled the last three years' produce, put together. The report showed also that millet production was expected to exceed last year's by over 70 percent. Harvesting has begun in the main producing area, the East Sissala zone of the Wa District. Early millet was the only food crop that thrived well last season but its cultivation in the region had been so limited to a small area that even though bumper harvests were realized in about four or five villages in the East Sissala Traditional Area last season it had no impact on the food situation in the region. Groundnuts, mainly produced as cash crop were also expected to exceed the level for the past three years, the report indicated. The report further said that yam production which suffered the most serious setback last year, "has bounced back to life" and production targets were expected to increase considerably over many previous seasons. On maize production, the report stated that a great deal of improvement had been seen this season and that production figures "will definitely" exceed those of the last two years. However, shortage of fertilizer had adversely affected maize production. On late crops like guinea corn, bambara beans, rice, late beans and other crops, the report was optimistic that "set targets" would be exceeded by wide margins. It stated that apart from the favourable weather conditions that had characterized agriculture in the region this year, the personal determination and enthusiasm of individual farmers had played a great role in the agricultural transformation and development of the area.--GNA [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 1 Aug 84 p 8]

KETA SEA DEFENCE PROJECT--An estimated 11,500 cubic metres of granite of various sizes in a quarry here and an eight-and-half-kilometre road leading to the quarry site have been handed over officially to the Government by the contractors Rockshell International. The development of the quarry marks the end of the first phase of the Keta Sea Defence Wall project. Speaking at the handing-over ceremony, the Volta Regional Secretary, Col A.K. Amable said his administration would see to the completion of the Keta Sea Defence Wall which had been neglected by past governments. The second phase of the project, the Regional Secretary said, involved the carting of the stones to the project site and the building of a new road to Keta. The chairman of

Rockshell, Mr R.S.D. Tei, said that his compabt viewed the job as "a national duty." In this connection, he said, the company imported plants and equipment needed not only for the quarry and the access road but also for the entire Keta Sea Defence Wall project. Meanwhile, the special technical Committee formed by the Ministries of Works and Housing and Road and Highways have said in a report that "any contractor bidding for the Keta Sea Defence Wall project should show physical evidence of the requisite plant and equipment for the job." The committee comprises engineers and consultants from the Architectural and Engineering Services Corporation and the Highways Authority. Well-informed sources said "such stiff requirements are necessary because of the emergency nature and magnitude of the project and the marine environment conditions under which the work will be carried out." [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 3 Aug 84 pp 1, 3]

STUDENTS MOBILIZED--The National Youth Organizing Commission (NYOC) in conjunction with the National Mobilization Programme (NMP) has mobilized about 500 students to take part in voluntary services in the Accra district. This was disclosed by Mr Musah Al-Fatah, acting Greater Accra Regional Coordinator of the NMOC, at a meeting with the student volunteers at the Accra Community Centre yesterday at which he outlined the programme of activities for the two-month period. Highlights of the programme include clean-up campaigns, tree planting and food harvesting and evacuation. Mr Musah said the NMP together with experts from the Forestry Department would be directly responsible for the tree-planting exercise. He disclosed that Nima, Mamobi, the Tetteh Quarshie Circle and the Tema Circle areas on the Accra-Tema Motorway have been specifically selected for the programme, adding that every step was being taken to ensure that the trees to be planted would not be left to die. According to Mr Musah, the students would be divided into zonal camps on two-week rotational basis in order to cut down the cost of feeding. Mr Musah said the programme would concentrate also on the Primary Healty Care Programme to ensure that the communities within which the student worked benefitted from the programme. The programme would be formally launched on Tuesday, August 7, 1984. [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 25 Jul 84 p 8]

AFIFE IRRIGATION PROJECT--The \$471 million Afife Irrigation Project, together with more than 800 hectares of developed rice farms in the Afife-Wheta area now seem destined to destruction if the sea at Keta is not prevented from linking up with the Keta Lagoon. Speaking to me after inspecting the sea-besieged areas in the Anlo and Ketu districts last Tuesday, Dr E.S. Edo, a marine geologist said "residential areas in the three and half kilometre long Keta coast are the only barrier against the possible linkage between the lagoon and the sea. "If life and property in the 4,486 square kilometre area are to be made safe," he stressed, "something positive must be done now to save the situation at Keta." Dr Edo pointed out that Ghana's neighbours, Togo and Benin, were watching what action the Ghana Government would take to save the situation, because if Keta was not protected now, "Ghana would be expecting sea erosion problems to her immediate eastern neighbours." He noted that the long lagoon and river bed depression stretching all the way to Benin was a very important zone for the cultivation of rice, corn, sugarcane and cassava, and fish farming. Dr Edo further explained that since

the depression was about five feet below sea level an inland sea which would form in the event of Ghana's inability to protect Keta from the sea, would easily submerge the entire area. [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 26 Jul 84 p 1]

**AJUMAKO-AFRANSI DEVELOPMENT**--A five-year plan estimated at C2 million has been launched at Ajumako-Afransi in the Central Region. The launching ceremony which coincided with the inauguration of the local youth association formed part of activities marking this year's Akwambo festival of the people. According to Mr Joe Abban, vice-chairman of the association, projects envisaged under the plan include construction of street drains and culvers, KVIP toilets and a public bathhouse. Others are renovation of the Local Authority Primary School block and provision of furniture for the school. Mr Abban said the projects would be undertaken by the people through self-help as well as contributions of C200 a man and C100 a woman. The chief of the town, Nana Kwaw Anoma II, called for co-operation and understanding among the youth, PDCs and the elders of the town to ensure peace. He advised the youth, especially school leavers, to remain in the town and undertake agricultural projects. Later, Mr Abban donated 25 matchets to the association. An appeal for funds yielded C10,000. [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 3 Aug 84 p 7]

**GOMOA-MAMPONG DEVELOPMENT FUND**--The people of Gomoa-Mampong in the Central Region have launched a C2.5 million Town Development Fund to finance social, educational and economic development projects in the area. Residents will contribute C100 annually while citizens of the area living outside will pay C200. Launching the fund, Nana Mensah Essel VIII, chief of the town, advised the people to cultivate the spirit of voluntarism in the national reconstruction programme. He said the time had come for the people to endeavour to better their lot without looking up to the Government assistance. Mr F.O. Abban, Dawurampong zonal organizer of PDCs, announced that C50,000 had already been realized. He said the amount would be used to build a Primary Health Care Centre, a new six-classroom block for the local primary school and three places of convenience.--GNA [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 3 Aug 84 p 7]

**NANKESE DEVELOPMENT**--A total of C2.5 million has been earmarked by the people of Nankese, near Suhum in the Eastern Region for development projects. This was disclosed at the week-end by Barimah Ayi-Gyasi chief of Nankese at a farmers' rally at Nankese, organized by the Suhum-Kraboa-Coaltar District Administration in conjunction with the District Information Service to educate the people on Government policies. The projects envisaged, including a community centre, rehabilitation of the Local Authority Middle and Primary School blocks and the provision of good drinking water, were being financed through contributions of C200 a man and C100 per woman, the chief said. [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 30 Jul 84 p 8]

NKWATIA-KWAHU DEVELOPMENT PLAN--The chiefs and people of Nkwatia-Kwahu led by their PDCs have drawn up a five-year development programme estimated at C5 million. Projects envisaged under the programme include a junior secondary school, extensions to the Health Post to befit its upgrading to health centre and building of three nurses quarters. This was disclosed by Nana Atuobi Yiadom I, Nkwatiahene, when project officers of the Eastern Regional Defence Committee (RDC) visited the health post as part of the RDC's evaluation of projects being undertaken through self-help. He said special levies of C500 a man and C100 a woman for citizens not resident in the town and C100 a man and C50 a woman for residents had been imposed to finance the projects. Nana Yiadom said over C300,000 had so far been collected and appealed to the Regional Administration, the Department of Rural Development and Cottage Industries and the RDC to assist them with materials such as cement, nails and roofing sheets to enable them to complete the projects on schedule. The head of Projects and Programmes Department of the RDC, Mr Francis Kwasi Mensah, commended the people for taking the initiative to provide themselves with their basic needs without looking up to the Central Government.--GNA [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 20 Jul 84 p 8]

CSO: 3400/2108

## 'ASIAN' INFLUENCE IN KENYA

Paris LE MONDE in French 30 Jul 84 p 6

[Article by Jacques de Barrin: "The Quiet Strength of the 'Asians'..."]

[Text] Amin Dada drove them out of Uganda overnight. He wasn't any better off as a result. The Indians of East Africa, the "Asians," often irritate the natives, but they are valuable people. Since long ago, when the coolies arrived, they have become a strong, tranquil, industrious, well-off and indispensable community.... The only thing that remains is for them to be liked.

Nairobi--Most of the 6,000 Sikhs who settled in Kenya four or five generations ago do not understand very well the stakes in the conflict between their co-religionists, around the Temple of Gold, in New Delhi's government, since one-third of them have never been to India. When they travel abroad today, they are much more likely to visit friends and relatives who have emigrated to Europe or North America. Their president, Mr Nandhra, admitted: "Our ties with our mother country are becoming looser every day." The Sikhs are only one of many components of the Indian community, within which Parsis, Hindus, Ishmaelite Moslem Jains, Catholic Goans and all sorts of other sects coexist in harmony. There are few or no mixed marriages. At the same time, each group maintains its individuality, its own temples or mosques, its clubs and often its own schools.

What is the total number of these "Asians," as they are called here? In the August 1979 census, they officially numbered 78,600 out of a population of 15 million, as opposed to 139,000 10 years earlier. Could a massive exodus have thinned their ranks to such an extent? Actually, experts agree that those results were grossly doctored. The Indians have really tried to voluntarily reduce the size of their families because of the census takers, for fear that the statistics would show an excessively high figure, which could alarm native inhabitants. Thus the truth is that today they probably number about 150,000, more than half of whom have acquired Kenyan citizenship. But no matter what happens, regardless of whatever hand fate deals, the Sikhs and the others will not turn around and go away, they will not melt into the Asian multitudes. What would these "socially outclassed" people have to gain by doing so, they who have managed to make a place in the sun for themselves here by the sweat of their brows?



In the first part of the century, Sir Harry Johnston, a British governor, predicted that "East Africa will be the America of the Hindus." The tens of thousands of coolies shipped to Kenya to build the Mombasa-Nairobi-Kampala railroad founded their own families and, from ballast layers, became tradesmen and big businessmen from one generation to the next.

### Perfect Victims

Idi Amin Dada's expulsion of the "Asians" from Uganda in 1972 made them aware of their precarious fate. The fantasy of a half-crazed dictator? That decision deserved to be taken very seriously, and it was, for it revealed the feelings, whether rational or not, whether vague or not, of part of the local public. Ten years later, Kenya's Indians were the perfect victims of the unrest that followed the abortive coup d'etat of 1 August 1982: in a few hours, more than 300 shops were sacked, causing at least \$40 million in damages. Undesirables? Yet their history is identified with Kenya's. As early as 1907, Winston Churchill inquired about finding a place for them in local institutions and saw "no reason to exclude this deserving and numerous class," whose first representative was appointed to the colony's "Legislative Council" 2 years later. The creation of the Indian National Congress in 1914 was aimed at "achieving total equality before the law" with the Europeans. To vindicate their rights, these coolies later launched, in public works and railroads, the first strike that the country ever had.

Although some people accuse them of having entered Kenya in the baggage of colonial authorities, the Indian community was very careful not to side with the latter, and many of its members took part, from the beginning, in the struggle for independence. These "Asians" have deserted the political arena today. They do not have any "friends" in either the government or parliament. Their sole parliamentary representative, Krishnan Gautama, was not a candidate, for his electoral district of Nairobi, in the parliamentary elections of September 1983. However, the defense of their interests requires them not to ignore what is brewing in the halls of government. But they believe it is wiser, and perhaps more effective, not to be too conspicuous. For example, it is known that these "Asians" are financing, in a rather substantial way, the election campaigns of the Kenyan African National Union (KANU), the sole party in power.

The Indian community, representing less than 1 percent of the total population, alone provides one-fourth of the gross domestic product. It controls, among other things, three-fourths of retail trade, one-half of the light-industry sector, and 60 percent of the construction industry. One-third of the attorneys are "Asians." The Chandaria consortium owns about 150 industrial plants in about 50 countries.... It is the Ishmaelite community, whose spiritual leader is the Aga Khan, that appears to be the best organized and most active. It has its own secondary schools and hospitals. It has large holdings in key sectors of the Kenyan economy, banking, tourism, the news media. Actually, each group of "Asians" has its own specialty: the Sikhs are skilled in civil engineering and the military; the Goans are valued as teachers and accountants; the Hindus excel in retailing and medicine.

## "Jews of the Indian Ocean"

It was a Goan who, in the 1960's, gave his country its first gold medal in the Commonwealth Games. Kenya is mainly beholden to the Sikhs for having formerly assembled one of the three best lawn hockey teams in the world. The industrious "Asians" are everywhere that there is "magendo"--business--to be transacted and deals to be made. They own their own homes and ... businesses. The positions they hold, in retailing in particular, make them visible to others and expose them to criticism. They have managed to make themselves indispensable, so much so that many people have come to believe--erroneously--that they hold the country's economy in their hands.

The arrogance and disdain that a good number of them display toward native inhabitants, as well as their concern for keeping their distance from them, explain why the ordinary citizen--the "wananchi"--does not hold them dear to his heart. He accuses them of being after a profit, often bad debtors, and finally "sure of themselves and overbearing." Aren't they called the "Jews of the Indian Ocean"? To relieve tensions and to dispel misunderstandings, Mr Nandhra agrees that it would be desirable to create more joint business ventures between Asians and Africans but, he specifies, with "ordinary Africans, not businessmen." A criticism of the natives' dilettantism? "They mustn't think that everything will be a cinch. It is necessary to work very hard, 16 hours a day, if they want to succeed."

If they refuse to consider the grievances of a minority of extremists who consider the "Asians" to be "paper citizens" and who try to alarm them by calling for a rapid Africanization of the economy, many young Indians are, on the other hand, sensitive to the relative isolation in which their community exists--and sometimes revels. The often advanced education that they have received enables them to have a broader view of the world around them. They refuse to view their dealings with the natives in the narrow context of merely creditor-debtor, buyer-seller relationships. "We must," one of them told us, "recognize African values and accept the dialogue and its risks. If we want to life in safety in Kenya, it is up to us to convince our fellow countrymen of our loyalty to this country."

11915

CSO: 3419/872

SOCIALIST EMULATION CAMPAIGN IN SOFALA EXPLAINED

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 11 Jul 84 pp 8-9

[Article by Francisco Muianga]

[Text] Beginning this year, the practice of socialist emulation, whose basic objective is to increase production and productivity among producers and stimulate their desire to work and appreciate its value, will undergo a change with respect to both the company and the workers.

However, it will not be a matter of altering the basic characteristics of that practice but rather of improving the practice. For this reason, it will particularly concentrate on the conditions of each company, independent of its position in the country's economy.

In an interview granted to our newspaper, Paulo Sarmento, secretary of the provincial council of the OTM [Mozambican Labor Organization] for Socialist Emulation and Economic Affairs, broaches some of the aspects relating to this subject.

"This year, all companies wishing to participate in the emulation campaign must first present their plan of activities for this purpose. This is to be done on the basis of their conditions, which implies discussion with the workers in general.

"Before the creation of the OTM," Paulo Sarmento pointed out, "and, to be precise, ever since the creation of the production councils in 1976, companies have not done this."

Continuing, he said that some activity sectors held celebrations which later proved to have negative results in that no money remained after the purchase of awards; the deficit then had to be absorbed by the company, sometimes at a loss of profits.

There are also production units which have never achieved their goals but which, each year, put on a socialist emulation campaign. In this case, the best are stimulated in the (non)fulfillment of the plan.

In this connection, Paulo Sarmento said that "it is through the plan that companies should expect to carry out the emulation campaign, for this practice is particularly aimed at increasing production and productivity."

#### Control of the Campaigns

To control the campaigns, charts are distributed to the centers which sign collective agreements. In addition, there are other indicators, such as monthly reports and individual cards filled out for each participating worker.

Our interlocutor added that "the practice of emulation is a voluntary act. To benefit from the campaign, workers should increase their production and productivity. In reality, without that increase or the fulfillment of the PEC [Central State Plan], there is no socialist emulation."

In justification of his previous statement, he said that "a company must have profits in order to purchase the necessary awards to stimulate the workers."

Again referring to the charts, Paulo Sarmento said that, in addition to helping fulfill the plans, they make it possible to perceive the difficulties companies have in achieving what they set out to do.

In this context, he adds, "Based on an analysis, the department is studying the causes of those difficulties and the remedial action which can be taken to overcome them so as to achieve our goals."

On the other hand, according to our interlocutor, "All the activity which has preceded the campaigns is enabling the department to evaluate the needs of the various companies in this phase of socialist emulation."

#### 25 Agreements Already Signed

By the end of the first 6 months of this year, the socialist emulation department reported the signing of 25 collective agreements in Sofala Province for the purpose of conducting campaigns in various production units.

The pledges signed cover periods ranging from 6 to 11 months, and some 12 months, and the companies involved are located in the districts of Buzi and Dondo and in Beira, among other places.

For reasons of communication, according to Paulo Sarmento, it has not always been possible to receive reports from certain districts, but there are indications that the work is going forward.

Most of the units previously mentioned expect to complete only one campaign by the end of the first 6-month period.

## Disparity of Awards

The change has been only in the method of carrying out the emulation campaign, but the distribution of awards still depends on the individual company. It depends essentially on the capacity and possibilities of each activity center.

This is to say, even if there are two workers who, during the carrying out of the campaigns, conceivably in two different companies, achieve top levels of performance (highest awards), they obviously receive incentive awards of unequal value.

Questioned by our reporter about the prospect of uniformity in the awarding of prizes, Paulo Sarmento said that this was not likely inasmuch as, at the signing of the commitments, each firm presents its individual work plan which results in different levels of profits.

Notwithstanding, he indicated that within the companies, before the awarding of incentive payments, there were discussions among the local organizations involving the workers. In accordance with the anticipated profits and the individual workers involved, this discussion makes it possible to calculate the quantity of work to be produced by each competing worker.

"In this phase," he stressed, "discussion with the workers is very important. It may be that one of them is scheduled to receive a radio; but if he already has a radio, he will certainly not be interested in receiving another. Thus, this prize can be exchanged for another of equal value."

Again on this subject, our interviewee said that "up to now we have not had any problems with the awarding of prizes. Moreover, the distribution of incentives depends more on what the company has available; for example, it cannot award two or more workers with furniture."

### Belita: One Example Among Many

The Belita Clothing Factory, in Beira, is one of the participants in the socialist emulation campaigns underway in Sofala Province. According to Domingos Jose Alfandega, secretary of the union committee of this work center, the agreement for this objective was signed in April but is to be extended for another 6 months.

Asked to speak about the present principles which are guiding the activity of that work center, he said that "in accordance with OTM's guidelines, the present procedure provides for multiple benefits to both the company and the workers."

In further reference to this subject, he said that "in previous years, emulation did not benefit the company. Some of the company's profits were used to purchase prizes, and this caused problems in certain situations."

"As to our plan," Domingos Alfandega said, "we are already exceeding our goals. There are good prospects that our plan will be fully carried out. Meanwhile, with regard to the awards, they have not yet been discussed among the management, union committee and workers."

Belita's plan concerns production and consists essentially in increasing its share of the PEC established for this year.

In the ongoing campaigns, Belita is so far counting on the participation of all workers. Attendance has been outstanding, according to our interlocutor.

Three Times Emulated: in Maputo, Nampula and Gorongosa

At the Belita factory we talked with one of the workers, whose photo is mounted on the local honor display containing 41 photographs of workers (men and women).

Joaquim Marcelino, a native of Zambezia Province, 26 years of age, married and the father of two children--residing in this city--is the joyful individual, winner three consecutive times. He said that the first time was in 1980, the second in 1981 and the third and last in 1982.

"I won three times. The first time I was awarded a trip to Maputo where I stayed at Hotel Rovuma for 2 weeks. It was at the time of the opening of the FACIM [Maputo International Fair] and, for that reason, I enjoyed the trip very much. The trip also enabled me to exchange experiences with others and get to know other factories in this field."

Concerning the second emulation, Joaquim Marcelino told us that he was already acquainted with that province (Nampula). "I worked there before coming to Beira, but, nevertheless, I enjoyed the trip immensely inasmuch as one gains much from such traveling, being able to stand out among other workers."

In Gorongosa District the three-times prize winner visited the national park. "I saw very large animals which I had never seen. I had never visited this park. I also enjoyed the local surroundings and hustle and bustle."

In conclusion, he said, "Each month I have received small awards. Now I am making an effort to become worthy once more, through emulation."

8568

CSO: 3442/443

## MOZAMBIQUE

### MILITARY COMMANDER DESCRIBES OFFENSIVE AGAINST BANDITS

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 6 Jul 84 pp 1, 8-9

[Article by Jose Manuel]

[Text] The military offensive in Inhambane Province aimed at eliminating the armed bandits and restoring peace in the region is being conducted extensively and decisively, with a view to making this year the year that the enemy is wiped out and work on rebuilding the devastated areas is begun.

In an interview granted to our special envoy, the Military Commander of Inhambane Province, Major General Domingos Fondo, said that ever since the Nkomati Agreement was signed, various attacks against enemy positions had been carried out, culminating in the destruction of all the bandits' bases and the death of more than 100 "matsangaissas," with 52 turning themselves over to our forces, 30 of whom also turned in their weapons.

Our source reports that there are now no bandit bases in that region of the country, thanks to the current military offensive. However, as they feel the circle formed by the FAM-FPLM and the people in general (who also send troops to fight the bandits) tightening around them, the bandits are trying at all costs to infiltrate the masses, who denounce them and kill them.

In an exclusive interview granted to DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE, the military commander of Inhambane Province, Major General Domingos Fondo, said that the military offensive being conducted in that region of the country has been extensive and decisive, and that 1984 will be the year in which the armed bandits are completely liquidated in the country, in fulfillment of the decisions made by the central government. "We want to see our people working freely to develop the country, in an atmosphere of peace," Domingos Fondo said, adding:

"Activities to ensure that our objective is met are being conducted with the enthusiastic and patriotic support of the people. Since the Nkomati Agreement was signed, we have been engaged in a number of battles, during which more than a hundred armed bandits have been killed."

"Moreover," he went on to say, "30 bandits voluntarily turned themselves in with their weapons to the Armed Forces of Mozambique [FAM]/FPLM, thereby coming under the jurisdiction of Law 7/83, and another 22 [bandits] also surrendered, but without their weapons."

"In Inhambane Province, there are no longer any bandits' bases. They do have small temporary camps, primarily in rich farming areas where the bandits can steal the people's food," Fondo reported.

"Here in Inhambane all the enemy bases were attacked and occupied by the FAM/FPLM, and the armed bandits who escaped without any leaders have formed small camps where they do not stay for more than 3 months. This is how the bandits are able to hide close to places where there is food, especially at this time of year when the peasants are harvesting," he went on to say, adding:

"All the areas where the enemy has been eliminated are being occupied by our forces, in coordination with the Party and People's Democratic Organizations, among other party and government organisms, and the people are being reorganized in communal villages, and the infrastructure damaged by the murderous wrath of the bandits, including schools, hospitals and commercial establishments, is being rebuilt. We are conducting activities aimed at physically and ideologically rehabilitating the people. We regard as basic the need to effectively ensure patriotic education and supply food, clothing and other vital articles."

#### Bandits Trying to Infiltrate

According to information gathered by our envoy to Inhambane Province from the military commander in that region, Major General Domingos Fondo, as the armed bandits in Inhambane feel the circle of our glorious armed forces tightening around them, as a result of the current offensive, they are abandoning their camps and trying to infiltrate the local villages, under the pretext of having been kidnapped by the "matsangaissas." The local people, however, are not being taken in, as they are aware of their activities and their links with the armed bandits.

"In other words, some armed bandits are trying to hide among the people, since they realize that they will never attain their objectives, and in addition they feel the pressure of our operations and the people's activities to eliminate these murderers. Some bandits have gone to the rather ridiculous extent of going to the cities to seek jobs, and we have already seen some flagrant cases. However, the people continue their vigilante activities, in compliance with the recommendation of the military headquarters regarding the need to increase our vigilante action, particularly as regard the bandits who are trying at all costs to rejoin society without first observing the restrictions of the law, and without accounting for their actions before the law," Major General Domingos Fondo added.

"The Armed Forces of Mozambique," he went on to say, "are dynamically fulfilling the directive of our Commander-in-Chief Samora Machel to transform the countryside into a theater of operations. We are therefore occupying the countryside, and the bandits are conducting activities among the people under the cover of some of their collaborators. In view of this, we have begun our "house-to-house operation", to generally clean out the province."



Moreover, to expand the ranks of the people's vigilantes and make them more effective and dynamic, there was an urgent need," according to the military commander of Inhambane Province, "to reorganize all the identification institutions in the region, since the bandits were taking advantage of deficiencies in some of the Civil Registry agencies and acquiring identity cards so that they could infiltrate the masses more easily. But the people have their eyes open and have been stopping any attempts made by the murderers," he added.

#### Situation Under the Control of the FAM

Information gathered by our envoy indicates that it can generally be said that the military situation in Inhambane Province is under the total control of the Armed Forces of Mozambique, thanks to the current military offensive in the country, and especially in that region. As an example, the presence of the armed bandits in the 10 districts which make up Inhambane Province has declined considerably, as the bandits do not have any organized leadership now. As a result, their activities are limited to ambushing vehicles transporting foodstuffs, but they fall short of their objectives.

"Districts which have been seriously affected by enemy action in the province are Mabote, Massinga, Vilankulo, Jangamo and Morrumbene. The districts of Mabote and Vilankulo were the first to be affected, when evidence of the murderous wrath of the bandits was first noted, followed by the districts in the southern part of the province. At present, the situation is under control in all these areas of the province and consequently, the people are resuming their normal lives again, supported by the dynamic presence of the Party, particularly at this stage when the final blow is being dealt to the armed bandits," our interviewee explained.

In answer to a question asked by our envoy, Domingos Fondo explained that the district which was the most affected in terms of damage to social and economic infrastructure was Zavala, where the bandits destroyed commercial establishments located between Mavila and Zandamela. According to further information given to our reporter by this military leader, the enemy was able to perpetrate its criminal activities in that region because there were hardly any soldiers there at the time.

"At the present time, however, the bandits have been driven out of Zavala District and forced to abandon the area, and now there are only a few camps of these criminals along Inharrime River in Banguze region. That area is rich in food products, and the bandits appear from time to time in small numbers to threaten the people and take their goods. Some of the bandits which appear in Banguze are from parts of Gaza Province and even Inhambane, where they have been driven out by the FAM/FPLM," he added.

#### People's Activities

The people have been helping in the unconditional battles against the armed bandits--formerly in the pay of the Pretoria regime--in Inhambane Province, thanks to the close collaboration between the people and the armed forces.

The military commander of Inhambane Province, Major-General Domingos Fondo had the following to say in this regard:

"It is not been in just this province, but all our people understand that the activities carried out by the armed bandits are aimed at sabotaging the country economically. Therefore, besides the political work done by the Party and the FDS, the people are angry at the bandits. The people not only have heard of the criminal activities of the bandits, but have seen their children, parents and relatives maimed and killed. All this has increased their anger against the armed bandits and has led them to fully understand their objectives."

"Meanwhile," he continued, "all this has led the people to volunteer to take political and military training courses, and to ask for weapons to defend their own homes and work places. We have had thousands of people come to us for training. These people are already participating in direct fighting against the enemy, resulting in the destruction of the bases and camps of the bandits."

Asked to specify the number of persons taking the self-defense courses, the commander said that "it is impossible to know exactly the number of persons whom we have trained, but we can see the results of this important activity."

"For instance, students in the various schools located in this province participate in the combat against the enemy during their free time, either by transporting supplies or in direct combat," the commander said, adding later that the teachers and directors of production departments also took part in the work referred to.

#### Recovery of Victims of the Bandits

As regards the recovery of and social support for victims of the armed bandits, there are activities coordinated with the Party and government structures at provincial level. The military commander of Inhambane said that the primary concern of the FDS was to guarantee security in the places regained from the armed bandits in the current military offensive. He had the following to say in this connection:

"Whenever we engage the enemy in battle, we free the people who were held captive, and we gain back the land itself. And, all the structures in the province give us their support so that goods may be effectively transported to the area."

"Moreover, once a specific zone has been rewon, the provincial party structures, government and FDS make special efforts at ideological mobilization and at providing all the supplies needed so that state, private, family and cooperative stores can be opened. Seeds are also supplied, and efforts are made to ensure the patriotic education of the people recovered from the bandits."

"Meanwhile," he added, "to guarantee the security of the zones where there has been or is enemy action, we train local troops who stop any attacks by the bandits. As regards recovery of units of production, as I said earlier,

first we train local troops who ensure the defense of the area. It is important to point out that restoration and repair work is being done in all the production units destroyed by the bandits, and in others seriously damaged, inventory is being taken of what is needed to resume their operations."

According to the military commander of Inhambane Province, the Armed Forces of Mozambique have been actively involved in material and moral support activities for victims of the armed bandits. Whenever a bandit camp is attacked, the local people are released and later handed over to the provincial party structures. Moreover, collaborators of the armed bandits captured by the FAM/FPLM or denounced by the local people are put in production centers together with the bandits who turn themselves in with their weapons.

There are six centers to support victims of the armed bandits in Inhambane Province, in Mabote, Massinga, Gamela, Vilankulo (headquarters), and the Inhambane center in the provincial capital, which altogether are providing shelter for hundreds of thousands of people.

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CSO: 3442/442

MNR SUPPLY SOURCES BAFFLE EXPERTS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Aug 84 p 11

[Article by Stephen McQuillan and Joao Santa Rita]

[Text]

Intensification of the effective guerilla bush war waged by the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) has baffled Western observers, unable to solve the riddle of a mystery supply chain.

Five months after the signing of the historic Nkomati agreement, it seems the MNR refuses to wither and die.

Shortly after the accord between Mozambique and South Africa was signed, the MNR claimed it had war material stockpiled to last two years. But it now admitted it had had to reorganise its supply lines.

Mr Jorge Correia, the rebels' representative in Lisbon, told *24 Hours* the reorganisation had been successfully done and South Africa supplies were no longer important.

"Our main supplies are coming from four countries in Europe. With 2 000 km of coastline we can bring in all the supplies we need," he said.

Mozambique however claims that supplies are reaching the rebels from right-wing groups funded by wealthy Portuguese immigrants in South Africa — the same people who arranged its Rhodesian bases in 1977.

Mr Kurt Campbell, research assistant for Southern Africa at London's Institute for Strategic Studies, said it was hard to believe that the rebels had stockpiled a year or more of war material because the rebels had no permanent bases and were constantly on the move.

Mr Campbell said it was unlikely a country would supply a year's equip-

ment to any rebel organisation because it would remove that country's leverage on the rebels.

"The MNR has achieved good results. It was thought that it would wither and die after Nkomati, but that is obviously not the case."

Reports that supplies for the rebels were coming in on the Mozambican coast were not new.

Reports that submarines or ships were bringing in supplies had been heard for more than a year, he said.

Mr Campbell doubted that supplies now reaching the rebels could come from any European country.

"I think the Mozambicans have fulfilled their side of the bargain, but the jury is still out on South Africa."

Western diplomatic sources in Maputo say the MNR activity has forced the government to restrict travel to within the city.

"The Mozambican army isn't doing very well against the MNR," said a diplomatic source in Maputo. "They are not trained and set up for that kind of response. The Soviets trained them for military set-pieces — not effective in terms of guerilla war."

He said the MNR had been "fattened up" well before Nkomati was signed.

"They are loaded down pretty well with material for a while. Prior to Nkomati there was a massive supply effort by South Africa. All is now stashed in the bush. Since then, as far as the Mozambican Government is concerned, South Africa has not been supplying the rebels."

SA OFFER TO GIVE UP SOVEREIGNTY PROMPTED BY ECONOMIC WOES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German 4 Jul 84 p 2

[Article entitled: "Namibia Is Becoming Too Expensive for South Africa: De Beers Company the Most Important Taxpayer. Great Economic Difficulties"]

[Text] ff. Capetown. The offer of the South African prime minister Piet Botha to place the administration of Namibia, prior to releasing the country into independence, into the hands of Western governments is fully consonant with Pretoria's desire to divest itself as quickly as possible of the expensive administration without running the risk of a socialist-communist regime of the Ovambo tribe led by Sam Nujoma gaining a foothold there. Quite apart from the high costs of the war on the northern frontier of the country with Angola, the cape country must support Namibia with considerable expenditures.

According to the now available preliminary budget estimate for 1984/85, Namibia, which encompasses 82.3 million hectares, with revenues of 1.18 billion rands and expenditures of 1.4 billion rands, will produce a deficit of about 210 million rands (1 rand [equals] approximately DM 2.10). The revenues include a direct South African grant of 318 million rands, approximately 32 percent more than during the preceding year, a South African payment of about 250 million rands from the title of customs union, loans guaranteed by South Africa in the amount of 180 million rands and a financial shot-in-the-arm of 90 million rands to offset the loss from the traffic revenue.

The domestic revenues of the former German colony were assessed at 343 million rands, for the most part tax payments of the Consolidated Diamond Mines belonging to the De Beers Company, which accounted for about 36 percent of the total tax revenues, the Roessing Uranium Mine belonging to the Rio Tinto Group, which was assessed for taxes for the first time in 1983, as well as the Tsumeb Corporation, which in its mines Tsumeb, Kombat, Otjihase and Matchless produces copper, lead, silver, cadmium, arsenic (trioxide) and will now begin the refining of the strategic mineral germanium.

Among the new measures of the Namibian administration to increase revenues are an increase in the taxation of diamond mining by 5 percent to 55 percent, which has already had a negative effect on the price of De Beers shares, as

well as an increase in the value-added tax by 2 percent to 9 percent. The gross domestic product of the country decreased in real terms by 7 percent in 1983/84, and it proved possible to reduce the rate of inflation by 1.5 percent compared to the preceding year to 9 percent, the share of agriculture and the fishing industry, as well as mining, in the gross domestic product fell by 11 percent to 34 percent, of the approximately 0.2 million Namibians living in the money economy 15 to 40 percent were unemployed, 75 percent of the state expenditures fell to the share of the inflated administration.

The report from neighboring Botswana, that the World Bank has made available 1.6 billion rands for the laying of a railway line from the capital of Gaborone to the South African enclave in Namibia, the port city of Walvis Bay, likewise will hardly provide a stimulus to reverse the evident decline of the economy.

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CSO: 3420/34

## ISLAMIC REVIVAL STIRS CONTROVERSY

### Fundamentalist Revival

Dakar AFRICA in French May 84 pp 43,46-47

[Article by Noel X. Ebony "Senegal: Allah U Akbar!"]

[Text] Senegal, noted for a peaceful ethnic coexistence and pluralistic democracy that is rare on a continent where tribal conflicts and political intolerance are prominent features, is experiencing a religious revival which Noel X. Ebony sees not so much as a cultural "awakening" as a "fundamentalist reaction."

Mgr Bernardin Gantin arrived in Dakar on Thursday 26 April. The following day he was received by the head of state, Mr Abdou Diouf. Then he was received by the National Association of Imams of Senegal. Mr Abdel Wahab Abdel Wassia, the Saudi Arabian minister of pilgrimage affairs, ended his official visit to Senegal the very same day.

One may very well call it pure coincidence, and that is probably correct. But it might be a mistake to ignore such calendrical coincidences at a time when Senegal is having a national debate on the religious question and when the revival of Islam in this 90-percent Muslim country (some say 93 percent, others 84) is giving rise to fears of a "surge of fundamentalism." It was under that very headline a week earlier that the Catholic weekly AFRIQUE NOUVELLE had summed up the anxieties of many in blunt language: "Fundamentalism is a word that inspires fear," it said.

Why does this word spread so much fear? When asked that question, Mr Babacar Niang, a PLP (Party for the Liberation of the People) deputy, answered: "I looked through the dictionary, I saw words from the same root, but I could not find fundamentalism."\* Had he searched further, he would have found Iran. That was the indirect rebuttal given by Rene Odou, author of the AFRIQUE NOUVELLE article, in his concluding remarks: "Fundamentalism may be a flash in the pan,

\* Fundamentalism: a doctrine that attempts to maintain a system in its totality; the attitude of Catholics who reject any doctrine of evolution. Antonym: progressivism.

but it is one that is capable of setting a whole nation afire. That was what happened to the empire of Shah Reza Pahlavi of Iran." The comparison is not without foundation. The repercussions of the Khomeyni bomb have echoed in Senegal--a generally open and outward-looking country--with as much force as all the other great historical convulsions, from the time of the French Revolution of 1789 all the way up to May 1968, a fact which should be noted.

"Senegal is not Robinson Crusoe's island," says Mr Fara Ndiaye, the number two man in the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party]. It is a fact that the Iranian revolution has been very closely followed in this country. One can even see the portrait of the Ayatollah in the "dibiteries" (popular restaurants where the sale of alcoholic beverages is forbidden), standing alongside posters of the religious leaders of the three great religious brotherhoods--the Mouride, the Tidjani and the Layenne.

Placards, posters and badges spring up everywhere bearing the likenesses of distinguished figures in religious history (Ahmadou Bamba, El Hadj Omar, Limamou Laye); voluntary organizations are also doing quite well. Muslim self-help associations, "associations of friends of the Koran," and groups of "Muslim aid" are so numerous that the Federation of Islamic Associations of Senegal has a hard time keeping track of all of them. These associations are quite often formed at the neighborhood or village level, and are a result more of local initiative than of the influence of the religious brotherhoods. Also, holy places have never been as affluent as in the last 3 years: both the Mouride shrine of Touba (Magal) and the Tidjani shrine of Tivaouane (Mawlud) have been visited by more than 2 million of the faithful.

There is no question that Islam is gaining ground. But the Muslim law, the Sharia, is not yet being strictly enforced as it is in neighboring Mauritania. For the moment, in Senegal, Islam is providing psychological refuge against the onslaught of the economic crisis that is aggravated by persistent drought and the inexorable advance of the desert. It also compensates for what Mr Fara Ndiaye has called the "lack of ideological perspectives" and provides a counterweight to Western values, which took advantage of the Senghor years to infiltrate all aspects of modern life in Senegal. "Is it not surprising," asks WAL FADJRI, the foremost Islamic weekly newspaper, "that at a time when acculturation and Westernization seemed to have won over the minds and hearts of most people in the country, a number of the best minds should just as clearly see and assume their responsibility to defend the cause, the great cause, of All-Powerful Allah?"

In Mr Fara Ndiaye's view, another explanation for the religious awakening lies in the "rejection of the politics pursued by our leaders." The national deputy secretary general of the PDS, the main opposition party, notes that 20 years ago people of his generation thought more about politics than religion and quoted Marx more often than Mahomet.

### Polygamy

What has happened? The young Marxists grew tired. Faith in bearded revolutionaries has faded. The contradictory European ideologies have sunk into the decrepitude of old age. They offer no satisfying alternative to the economic impasse and the social change taking place here and now under the harsh blows inflicted by the West--or what is more commonly known as the Judeo-Christian West.



Latif Gueye, the young and spirited editor-in-chief of the Islamic weekly WAL FADJRI ("I swear by the dawn") and director of the monthly DJAMRA, says: "We want to become a powerful force in African journalism." Cutting a very elegant figure in his factory-faded blue jeans and his New Wave-style Ray Ban sunglasses, Mr Gueye believes that "the struggle against cultural imperialism is forging among the Senegalese people an unshakeable determination in the struggle for political, economic and social emancipation." But such a revolution, he adds, is so intense, so profound, so national, so democratic, and so popular that it frightens not only those presently in power but even a number of intellectuals in the opposition, all of whom have been brainwashed by the West.

This is not the first time that Senegal has taken refuge in religion: near the end of the 19th Century, when France was forcing its way into Jolof, Islam was gaining masses of converts among the distressed populace. The Wolofs chose what in their view was the lesser of two evils: Islam, unlike Christianity, did not threaten to overturn their traditional customs, their family structure. Tolerance of polygamy, for example, was a basic factor in the propagation of Islam in black Africa, as Vincent Monteil has observed.

Moreover, Islam offers a simple, clear and solid faith: all it requires is to believe in the one God and the mission of the Prophet, a profession of faith contained in the ritual formula, "Allah U Akbar..." Here, the relationship between the believer and his God is direct: it is not controlled by any intercessor. Similarly, while Islam shows strong spiritual cohesion despite the diversity of brotherhoods (which are not "sects," as one might think), Christianity is confusingly pluralistic and divided, with mysterious doctrinal controversies between Protestants and Catholics. Another fact favoring Islam's success is that from the beginning it has been propagated by Africans, which has made it much easier to assimilate.

Thus, because in the past it was able to adapt to the African cultural climate, and because now it is perceived as containing the quintessence of traditional values (the spring where the manatees go to drink, to paraphrase L.S. Senghor), Islam in recent years has been revived and rejuvenated.

Today in the high schools and on the university campus, "adrias" or calls to prayer have replaced political meetings, and verses of the Koran have taken the place of slogans.

#### Transcendence

"The young people and the intellectuals now are very attracted to Islam," says Mr Mamadou Ndiaye, author of a doctoral dissertation on Koranic education and deputy director of the Islamic Institute located within the precincts of the Great Mosque of Dakar. The Arabic language, traditionally taught as a classic language like Latin, is now growing in favor. Each year thousands of children are turned away from Senegal's 5,000 Koranic schools, some of which existed even before the French colonization.

Other signs of the Islamic renewal include the mosques: with the help of Arab states, "they are springing up like mushrooms," writes AFRIQUE NOUVELLE, the Catholic weekly, with a trace of envy.

Are we forced to conclude, then, that Senegal's Islamic revolution is just around the corner? Not even Latif Gueye thinks so: "We prefer to deal with problems step by step. The current stage is to show the true face of Islam, this phenomenon of our time which surpasses human understanding. It is a transcendence and a means of combat. The next stage? Only the All-Powerful knows the future."

If one can believe Sidi Lamine Niasse, Latif Gueye's superior and head of the group, "Islam, the only religion that God accepts," is an ideology capable of organizing every area of life, and of satisfying what the Wolof sage Kotya Barma considers to be the three fundamental human cycles: *dyi*, *goob* and *lek* (sowing, harvesting and eating). That is why "struggling for the overthrow of the ruling power becomes the solution to the problems of underdevelopment and foreign domination."

### Secularity

Despite external manifestations that are clearly spectacular, "it is a long way from Islam as a refuge to Islam as a militant force," believes Christian Coulon, author of the book, "Les Musulmans et le Pouvoir en Afrique," (Karthala, Paris, 1983). Nevertheless, one cannot discount the possibility that this dynamism might in the future assume more active forms and incite true Muslim political militancy.

After all, in the most recent presidential elections, the great holy men of Tivaouane and Touba gave formal voting instructions to their talibes (followers) for the first time in Senegal's political history. Doubtless they pronounced themselves in favor of the ruling Socialist Party [PS] and for its candidate, Mr Abdou Diouf, a Muslim, who certainly needed a broad electoral mandate to retain the power outgoing President Senghor had bequeathed to him.

As pointed out by a French businessman established in Senegal, the political exploitation of the Muslim leaders is a tradition started by Leopold Sedar Senghor, a Christian, who was able, whenever he saw an opportunity, to make use of both the strengths and the weaknesses of Senegalese society in ways that no French colonial administrator was ever able to do.

Of course, the voting instructions did not produce the expected results, since the PDS was most successful in the more important religious constituencies such as Diourbel. All of which may go to show that "the Senegalese know how to put limits on religion when they have to." "Our militants frequently tell us," adds Mr Fara Ndiaye, himself a fervent Muslim and former student at the famous Koranic school of Serigne Ahmadou Dabo, "that the conversations they have with their religious instructors concern the hereafter; as for their problems on earth, they bring those to us, and they don't mix the two together."

But is it not possible that in allowing them to get mixed up in "ephemeral" affairs by appealing to the voters a path is being opened up toward an evolution that could lead the religious leaders to try to organize as an autonomous force once they have established their electoral strength at the national level?

There was the case of the "Party of God" ("Hizboulahi") led by the holy man E.H. Khalifa Niasse, also known as the "Ayatollah of Kaolack." Some organizations, such as the Jamaatou Ibadour Rahmane [JIR], are attempting to pose the question at a political level: the JIR openly admits that it foresees future political representation taking into account the fact that Muslims are an absolute majority of the Senegalese population.

This was also the thinking of Mr Mamadou Dia and his supporters, whose undertakings have been described as "ayatollaesque" by the government.

In the opinion of Mr Babacar Niang, secretary general and parliamentary deputy of the PLP, a party born from a schism within the RND (Democratic National Rally) of Mr Sheikh Anta Diop, "the enthusiasm of the Islamic movement is for the PLP a phenomenon it will behoove us to consider calmly. It is better not to throw stones at those who want to Islamize a regime, as long as it is understood and accepted that there are others who insist on secularity."

On that sensitive question, it is President Abdou Diouf who speaks most unequivocally. He maintains: "I will fight against any sectarianism that is harmful to economic and social progress, to understanding, brotherhood and peace among the Senegalese people."

It was doubtless in the hope of hearing such words that John Paul II sent Mgr Bernardin Gantin here for his first episcopal visit, almost as soon as he had been named a bishop. For the Holy Father knows that today, in Africa as elsewhere, adventurism sometimes offers more hope than wringing one's hands in despair.

But people, alas, have a tendency to want it all. In Iran as well as elsewhere. As much today as in the past.

#### Opposition To Islamic State

Dakar AFRICA in French May 84 pp 44-45

[Interview with Pathe F. Diagne, noted Senegalese industrial economist, sociologist and linguist, by Noel X. Ebony; at Yoff, date unspecified]

[Text] Pathe F. Diagne, a smiling 50-year-old with a salt-and-pepper beard and a mind constantly in motion, handles the most sophisticated concepts with the aplomb of a researcher who has never been able to "disconnect" himself from the action. An industrial economist, sociologist, expert on cultural issues, the leader of an engineering study group, he established Dakar's first university publishing house, Editions PFD Sankore. A linguist, he is an outspoken advocate of Wolof as an official language and published a grammar of the language in 1968.

He is the author of numerous studies and scientific essays, including "Political Power in Traditional Africa" (Presence Africaine, Paris, 1967), "Economic Integration or Micro-states in West Africa" (Anthropos, Paris, 1973), "Introduction to

African Culture" (10/18, Paris, 1976), etc. His various activities have made Pathe F. Diagne a central figure (and one of the most dynamic) in contemporary African thought. It was because of his importance in this regard that we, AFRICA, went to see him at his home in Yoff, close by the ocean, not far from the home of his friend, Ousmane Sembene, the film director, to explore further with him the hidden side of Islam.

[Question] Coming back to Senegal after spending several years away gives one the impression that something in the air has changed.

[Answer] I think that something really has changed. The ambiance is different, both politically and culturally, even if only by virtue of the change of style that followed the departure of Senghor, who was quite a fellow, the arrival of Abdou Diouf, who comes from a different generation, and the establishment of pluralism.

[Question] Could it be said that the arrival of Diouf has been felt as a cultural "liberation"?

[Answer] Let us say that the departure of Senghor could amount to a fairly major cultural shock. Abdou's political culture still remains to be defined.

[Question] Perhaps it is already being defined...?

[Answer] In practice, on a day to day basis, right now? That is true. It is quite obvious in that respect that Senghor's strict devotion to scrupulously correct European clothing is not shared by Abdou Diouf, who is always casual and dresses in African style. In that respect, the Senegalese are now wearing clothes that are less fancy; at least the system does not require it so much.

[Question] Is such strictness--which in Senghor's case was well symbolized in his standards of Western dress--compatible with Islam?

[Answer] Senghor was a Catholic, he thought as a Catholic, which he had every right to do. He protected Christianity in Senegal within an institutional framework.

[Question] In the current debate, fundamentalists have often spoken to me about freemasonry as if it were in their eyes the inevitable result of strict enforcement of secularity.

[Answer] I suppose that they were alluding to the history of secularism in France, where the freemasons played a major role vis-a-vis the State and the schools. It is no secret to anybody that there is a substantial intellectual community of freemasons in Senegal. But let us ignore that and talk about Africa, and more specifically about the traditional African state. That was a pluralistic state. It never initiated a crusade or jihad [holy war]. Everyone had his own idea of God and could establish his own unique monotheism. Thus, as an African, I can base my opinions on the historical secularism, or--to be still more precise--the ideological and religious pluralism of the state. I would even go so far as to maintain that secularism is a European and Oriental problem because the dominant monotheisms in those civilizations prevent

religious minorities from freely exercising their right of self-expression. It is no wonder that Judaism, Christianity and Islam are unable to live together easily in the contemporary [Middle] East, when language, civilization and religious traditions all derive from the same fertile soil. These conflicts have created pressures for a secular or neutral state. For my own part, I believe that Senegal, and Africa in general, should be pluralistic, as we have always been traditionally. That is why I am frankly against an Islamic state, a Judaic state or a Christian state. The Senegalese state, the African state, should be able to organize the national interest, the common interest of all of its communities. It is up to the latter to organize their own cultural and religious--even economic--interests, to establish banks, economic and social enterprises, to set up their news organs, their presses, their radio and television, with respect to maintaining public order. One would certainly like to see people rise to that kind of challenge.

[Question] I have also heard it said by Majmout Diop (leader of the African Independence Party, a Marxist group) that Islam is revolutionary.

[Answer] After all, why not? There are revolutionary readings of Islam as there are of Christianity and Confucianism. Many people think that Jesus Christ was actually a revolutionary, very close to the oppressed masses. I think that such a reading is possible. From the very start Islam set about to correct the failings of a patriarchal, antifeminist, slave-holding and very bellicose society. But is Senegalese dynastic Islam truly revolutionary? That is a problem. Is it still true to the tradition of eastern Islam? That is another problem. Historically, Islam was once again revolutionary in the 9th Century, when thinkers in Persia and the Arab world, Maghrebians, Sudanese and European thinkers from the Mediterranean and Spain were engaged in the rediscovery of the works of classical antiquity. Arab-Islamic thought at that time made important contributions to the renaissance of science, technology, law and society, through people such as El Khawarizmi, El Hindi, Ibn Rush or Ibn Sina. But very soon, also with El-Ghazali, it turned inward upon itself to become a dogma. And no dogma, whether Islamic or Christian, secular, liberal or Marxist, has yet led to a revolution. I think that revolutions are conquests of freedom and that the old laws do not sufficiently provide for those freedoms. At best, they prepare for freedom through the principles they elucidate.

[Question] Islam today is such a strong foundation because it is the largest common denominator.

[Answer] I would not deny that Senegalese and West African culture are influenced by Islam, but it has traditionally been the Islamic faith that has influenced it more than the so-called Islamic institutions, which as a rule are Arabic institutions. It is obvious that African/black institutions are much more advanced, much more liberating, in these domains; at least it is obvious to anyone who takes the trouble to study them.

[Question] But what still remains of these African institutions out of which one might create a new order?

[Answer] The idea still remains. The idea and the experiences that have come out of it. That is a lot. That is the idea of pluralism. The so-called Islamic, Judaic or Christian state is, as I have already said, monocentric. It

is against pluralism. It is the state of the Crusades. This is what history shows us. Now African/black societies are pluralistic, as are their models of states and power. Each community organizes itself on its own terms. This is what the Senghors, the Houphouet-Boignys, the Nyereres and others like Sekou Toure have called "communocracy;" and so we had ethnic, cultural and religious communities coexisting and managing their own affairs with complete autonomy, and electing their own leaders. So we found hierarchies and their oligarchies both at the local and the national level defending the common interest. Pluralism, at least in concept, if not in its dated institutions, is a perfect model today for a global culture that has to be diversified and pluralistic. It is a model for a modern state that must--if it is not totalitarian-- take ideological, religious and even sociotechnological differences into account.

[Question] Let us go return to the subject of the religious brotherhoods.

[Answer] In principle, Islam is not a religion organized around priests, and particularly not around hereditary priests. Now what we find is that many of the great religious leaders, the holy men, have certainly exercised great influence over communities while they were alive--a more or less liberating influence--but their sons succeeded them in order to maintain political control over the masses. From that point, Islam began to assume a dynastic form, and this began to serve as a means of structuring rural and urban society. The politicians have often exploited this. Senghor was not the first to take advantage of these dynastic structures, and he was well acquainted with the major families involved in them. He remained on very good terms with the religious dynasties, and this helped him consolidate his power. In the end, the so-called progressive political parties, instead of liberating the masses, fell into step with the holy men in order to be able to influence some of the masses through the brotherhoods. I see this as leading nowhere. The religious orders, as a class, are not so easily manipulated, particularly by a Europeanized elite whose comportment differs rather markedly from the traditional norms.

[Question] But the legitimacy of the powers exercised by the religious orders has a historical foundation.

[Answer] Very much so. At the beginning. I believe in fact that the collapse of traditional authority in the face of colonial authority led to an alternative. And Islam produced that alternative, just as Christianity produced it elsewhere with dissident or syncretic sects like Kimbanguism. Here it led to black Islam. But what is Mouridism? It is a new way of interpreting Islam: of establishing one's own Mecca at Touba in order to stabilize the Senegalese and produce a rhetoric in which Senegalese culture itself is taken into consideration as the culture of reference. When people say, "We are Bambists, not Mourides," they are making a significant distinction.

In reality, Sheikh Bamba wanted to establish an inner religion. By contrast, Mouridism seems to be evolving toward dynasty. The Layennes on Cape Verde tried to do the same thing in bearing witness to an autochthonous Islam and a natural society as compared to European society and culture. And from that point of view, today there is a Senegalese culture which, while strongly influenced by the Islamic faith and sometimes even by Islamic institutions, still remains black and African in its fundamental values.

[Question] Why is it that this criticism of the influence of the religious brotherhoods is always made from outside, and never by the faithful themselves, who seem to have adjusted to it?

[Answer] They have adjusted to it, of course, but their orientation toward the dynasties means that they imagine, contrary to what Islam says, that the holy men can save them, and that the simple fact of touching a saint guarantees you will go straight to paradise. This is nothing but mystagoguery. But I am very optimistic: when Islam finally speaks to the masses in their own language, they will be able to change, and in the best possible way, for Islam will be embraced by rational human beings, conscious of the meaning of their beliefs, and in the end they will see things much more plainly and fairly.

[Question] Then how does it come about that Islam has become increasingly militant over the last few years?

[Answer] All ideological certainties have collapsed, and people need to go back to their roots--this may mean embracing fundamentalism, either in Islam or Christianity, or it may mean drinking deeply of their own cultural traditions (neo-pharaonic or otherwise)--in order to find out how to rebuild their world out of cultural building blocks which they understand better. Because in reality what has aggravated the world crisis is partly the fact that the dominant ideology is of European origin, that it comes from a particular civilization which has been advancing behind the banners of capitalism or collectivism and which has frequently been superimposed over the cultural make-up of men who themselves wanted to build revolutions on the European model.

When one looks at the so-called socialist countries in Africa, what does one see? The same state collectivism that one finds in the countries of the East. When one looks at those that are trying to build capitalism, they are building--at best--a 19th Century capitalism, macro-technological, one that is superimposed on their own society, which uses neither science nor technology to bring it into conformity with the needs of a stable society that is faithful to itself. I am not talking about being faithful to one's past, but rather of fidelity to the realities of a society open to change. The crisis is a global one. It echoes around the world. In Senegal it is having serious repercussions. And because this is a country where the overwhelming majority are Muslim, Islam itself is part of the problem. Thus, there are intellectuals, alienated and frustrated, who find their reason for existence in Islam, in the Islamic renewal. All that might be very well, so long as they conceive that renewal in rational and liberating terms.

9516

CSO: 3419/857

RADIO COMMENTS ON U.S. ELECTION CAMPAIGN

MB152030 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 15 Aug 84

[Station commentary: "The Buildup to the American Elections"]

[Text] With the presidential elections still 3 months away, there is much for Americans to be excited about in the early stages of the campaign: President Reagan's off the record joke about bombing the Russians, the personal finances of Miss Geraldine Ferraro, and the rift between Democratic candidate Mr Walter Mondale, and the Reverend Jesse Jackson.

No one is particularly amused by President Reagan's extemporaneous remarks, but it is also not seen as particularly damaging. Conversely, the personal finances of Miss Ferraro, the Democratic vice presidential candidate, is becoming a major issue in the election campaign. Initially, after agreeing to do so, she now refuses to disclose her husband's finances. The latest development involves illegal funding she admits she received from her husband for her first congressional campaign in 1978.

The Mondale-Jackson rift has resurfaced with Mr Jackson apparently going back to his pledge at last month's Democratic Party Convention to support Mr Mondale. He now says he has not decided whether to campaign for him. Mr Mondale is reported to have accused Mr Jackson of demanding more and more concessions as the price for his support, adding that he can win the White House without Mr Jackson's help.

Meanwhile the latest opinion polls show that after a brief surge in Mr Mondale's fortunes in the full glare of his party's convention, President Reagan is again 15 percentage points ahead of his rival.

One way or another the Democratic Party Convention generated a lot of publicity to Mr Mondale's benefit at the polls, and this now seems to be the Republican Party's most immediate problem: how to interest the media in its routine convention starting in Dallas on Monday.

With Mr Reagan the first White House incumbent since 1956 not to face any serious competition for renomination, there will be none of the drama and excitement enacted in San Francisco. Mr Reagan's acceptance of the nomination will be a mere formality, and indications are that so too will be his reelection in November.



POSSIBLE POLITICAL COMEBACK SEEN FOR CONNIE MULDER

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 6 Aug 84 p 4

[Article by Frans Esterhuyse]

[Text]

CAPE TOWN — It has been a rough and lonely road for Dr Connie Mulder to come in from the cold. But his imminent return to the mainstream of politics promises to be but the start of a new era in his turbulent political career.

His nomination by the Conservative Party to the new President's Council may prove to be but a stepping-stone for him towards a direct confrontation with his accusers and political executioners.

Dr Mulder made it clear during an interview last week that he is still itching to get back into Parliament.

He said Parliament was his first choice and if a suitable vacancy occurred he would go for it — even if it meant resigning from the President's Council.

Investigation

Dr Mulder said he was not worried about threats of parliamentary action against him for his doings at the time of the Information affair. He would welcome a select committee investigation as called for by the official Opposition at that time.

"It would give me an opportunity to give the real facts and to clarify the position of a few other people."

Dr Mulder said, however, that he believed no parliamentary action could be taken against him if he should be elected to Parliament in the future.

In that event he would be elected by an electorate which would take all the circumstances into account and still elect him. Any parliamentary action for his past actions would then not be valid.

During the interview Dr Mulder was enthusiastic about his new role after his nomination for the President's Council.

He said he was glad to get back into active politics — even though he believed the new constitutional system could not work.

He believed rightwing politics was on the march in South Africa. This had been shown by the recent Rosettenville and Potgietersrus provincial by-elections and was borne out by conversations he had with prominent Nationalist politicians who were disenchanted with the Government, Dr Mulder said.

The former Minister of Information has come a long way since his fall from political grace.

He has made his way against the full blast of the National Party's formidable propaganda machine run by his former political colleagues in that party.

He has faced scorn, ridicule and derision from those who once hailed him as the crown prince of Nationalist politics.

This was the price he had to pay for his failure to seize the reins of power at the crucial moment of the premiership election in September 1978. He missed becoming prime minister by only a few votes — six to be exact.

From that fateful moment Dr Mulder's political downfall was sudden and dramatic — he lost his Cabinet position, his powerful Transvaal Nationalist leadership position and his seat in Parliament.

Finally, he had to relinquish his membership of the National Party, the very vehicle which had brought him so close to the heights of power.

After that Dr Mulder was rejected and alone. He had virtually been driven into the political wilderness.

Ironically, the request to Dr Mulder to resign his seat in Parliament came from his former Cabinet colleague and triumphant opponent in the 1978 premiership election — Mr P W Botha.

In a courteously-worded letter starting with "Dear friend", Prime Minister Botha wrote: "But you will have to accept that your continued presence as a member of Parliament is not in the best interests of yourself, of the party, or of South Africa."

It was the Information scandal which threw Dr Mulder's political career into turmoil — and even today he labours under continuing reprisals and nasty reminders of the affair.

Not long after his rejection by the Government and the NP, Dr Mulder began picking up the pieces of his shattered political career.

He launched a rightwing National Conservative Party which later joined forces with Dr Andries Treurnicht in the present Conservative Party.

(Report by F S Esterhuysen, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

DETAILS ON CALL-UP OF ALIENS REPORTED

No Instant Call-ups

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 3 Aug 84 p 5

[Text]

CAPE TOWN — The implementation of Section 11A of the Citizenship Act does not mean instant military call-ups for permanently resident aliens, particularly those over 25.

In terms of an amendment to the South African Citizenship Act of 1949, published in the Government Gazette of April 11 this year, the basic requirements for conferring automatic citizenships on an alien are as follows:

- He must have no conviction in terms of Sections 43 and/or 44A of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act (Act 59 of 1972);
- He must be entitled to a permanent residence permit in terms of the Aliens Act (Act 1 of 1937); and
- He must have been ordinarily resident in the Republic for a period of at least five years after receiving a permanent residence permit.

Automatic citizenship will take effect as follows:

- If an alien was granted a permanent residence permit before April 19 of 1978 and is aged between 15 years and 24 years and six months on October 11 of 1984, when the new citizenship regulations come into effect, immediate naturalisation will take place;
- Aliens in the above category who were younger than 15 when the regulations come into effect will be naturalised six months after they turn 15;
- An alien who received a permanent residence permit at any time after a date two years before October 11 of 1984 will be naturalised on the date on which his five year's permanent residence expires, providing he is older than 15 years and six months, but not older than 25.

If he is younger than 15 years and six months when his five-year

permanent residence period expires, he will become a citizen on the date he reaches that age.

Naturalisation can be avoided if the alien concerned, or his parent or guardian in the case of a minor, makes a declaration declining citizenship.

However, it has been made clear that refusal of citizenship can result in the revocation of the alien's permanent residence permit.

Other questions raised yesterday by aliens included:

● Will service in another army be regarded as a "credit balance?"

According to spokesmen, service in a recognised and well-regarded

foreign army will be "taken into consideration" in determining his SADF commitment.

This means that a man who has served in, say, the British Army might be given a day-for-day credit, this might mean that he would not need to do any national service but might have a part-time Citizen Force commitment. Such adjustments will depend on the individual case.

● When must a new citizen register for service?

He must register for military service within 30 days of becoming a citizen, and if he is under 25 he can be called up for national service.

● What will happen to new citizens older than 25?

The information available is not specific on this point, but presumably they can be called up for 12 days' "Dad's Army" service a year in areas where such service is required (although at the moment "Dad's Army" is only operating in a few sensitive, thinly populated rural districts).

● Will newly arrived aliens who receive permanent residence permits be called up? Aliens who come to live in South Africa will not be liable for call-up till they have been resident for at least five years after being granted a permanent residence permit. If still under 25 they can be called up.

— DDC.

#### New Points Clarified

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 4 Aug 84 p 2

[Text]

EAST LONDON — Permanently resident aliens who qualify for automatic citizenship of South Africa will be obliged to register for national service within 30 days of becoming citizens.

This was confirmed yesterday by the Officer Commanding Group 8 here, Colonel Reg Deyzel. He said that, judging by inquiries received at the local military headquarters, there were still some points that needed to be made about national service for new citizens.

These were:

In terms of the Defence Act, new citizens must register within 30 days. Those still at school could obtain registration at their schools. Others must write to the Registering Officer, Private Bag x281, Pretoria.

All those who became citizens this year and who would be 17 or older next year would be liable for national service next year.

Those who would still be at school, studying or continuing appren-

ticeships must apply to the Exemption Board for deferment of their call-up. The address: The Secretary, Exemption Board, Private Bag X281, Pretoria.

These people would be provisionally allotted to the July, 1985, national service intake. This would give them enough time to submit the required proof of enrolment at an educational institution.

It was also necessary to re-apply for deferment annually, Colonel Deyzel said. — DDR

CSO: 3400/2107

## POOR VOTER ROLES IMPEDE COLOURED, INDIAN ELECTIONS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Aug 84 p 11

[Text]

The voters rolls which coloured and Indian political parties have to use in the forthcoming elections for the non-white Houses in the tricameral Parliament were nothing short of a "political crime".

This is the view of Professor Willem Kleynhans.

Voters rolls have been the centre of controversy since the election campaigns began with reports of error, omission and duplications. These have threatened to turn the elections into a farce.

**CONDEMN**

Professor Kleynhans, head of political studies at the University of South Africa, said the voters rolls were in a state of chaos.

"In the Eersterus constituency, 75 percent of names on the roll cannot be traced," he said.

"There is no language strong enough to condemn this. How are coloured and Indian candidates, with little or no election experience, expected to contest an election when their most important tool — the voters roll — is in a terrible state. It is a disgrace."

Professor Kleynhans said

some candidates for the Houses had received a copy of the voters roll for their constituency only four to five weeks before polling day.

"That is not nearly enough time to do any canvassing," he said. "And on top of that, the lists they received were out of date."

"Can you imagine the frustration of these people. They go walking from house to house only to find that the voters whose names appear on the roll no longer live at that address, and the new occupant is neither registered nor able to say where the previous owner is," Professor Kleynhans said.

**REQUIRED**

He said most candidates had neither the funds nor the machinery required to trace missing voters.

"Voters are required by law to provide change of addresses but they never do and no South African Government has ever prosecuted anyone for failing to do so."

Professor Kleynhans added that when the delimitation commission sat to draw the boundaries of the constituencies for the forthcoming two elections they used the popu-

lation register to do so.

"But for reasons already explained that register was invalid. People have moved away, died, and got married, very few are at the same address."

"The old coloured voters roll was used as a starting point but that too is hopelessly out of date. It was compiled at the time of the last CRC elections," he said.

**DELIMITATION**

"If these elections had been properly organised the delimitation committees would have sat for at least six months during which time all the voters rolls could have been updated."

"Then the (new) lists should have been made available to political parties three months in advance of an election date. That is the way these elections should have been handled," he said.

"But the coloureds and Indians allowed themselves to be rushed into it by (Minister Chris) Heunis and (Minister FW) de Klerk with the result that the whole thing is a shambles."

(Report by G van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

## GOVERNMENT'S RACIAL HOMELANDS POLICY CRITICIZED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 7 Aug 84 p 10

[Article by Dr Franz Auerbach]

[Text]

What's repeated often enough by authority tends to become accepted even though it may not be true. Government voices have so often told us we're a multinational country that many accept it as correct: a number of "black nations" in separate national states where they can have self-determination just as whites have in "their" country and where they can run their "own affairs" as can whites, coloured people and Asians in "their" (single) national state.

But to pretend that the differences between Xhosas and Zulus make them separate "nations" when equally great differences between Roman Catholic Portuguese-speaking whites and Dutch Reformed Afrikaans-speaking whites make them be part of one nation is clearly nonsense.

Gujerati-speaking Hindus and English-speaking Christians, all classified Indian, fit into one "nation" (or is it part of one South African nation that includes everyone but the African majority?)

What makes a nation may differ from one place to another: there are three national states in which German is the only official language, and two more where it is an official one; and of course far more where English is the mother-tongue. Many modern nations are comprised of people with a number of different religions.

A common territory and a common history often forge a nation, but several modern examples show that divisions can remain, as they do in Ireland, Cyprus and the Indian sub-continent, even where history and land might suggest a gradual growth of unity.

The common "white" identity that is supposed to exist, if it overrides cultural, religious and language differences, is clearly based on "race" or rather on race classification.

In our country this carries with it common privileges which tend to play down the differences — but in African society similar differences are supposed to lead to separate "nationhood" even though the experience of common levels of racial discrimination in reality acts as a unifying factor.

Even the land base of "national states" makes little sense. Several — eg Bophuthatswana and kwaZulu — consist of several patches of territory; there are *two* Xhosa states for no ethnic or economic reason, and two Tswana states though one of them is outside our borders.

Then most Tswanas and Tsongas and South Sothos live outside "their" national states, as do more than 40 percent of all Zulus, Xhosas and Pedis (North Sotho). And several million of them were born and have spent their whole lives outside "their" national states.

Now this is important because by any logic or justice they should be entitled to the citizenship of the state which they live in permanently — not only if they were born there, as very many were.

To make a case for "black national states" we stress tribal differences which are certainly no greater than similar differences among whites, coloured people and Indians. The latter may speak Tamil or Telegu, Urdu or Hindi or Gujarati or English at home, and while most profess Hinduism there are substantial minorities of Muslims and Christians.

In the "coloured" community can be found almost half our country's 300 000 Muslims; probably more than a quarter-million whites are Portuguese-speaking at home. . .

In reality all human beings have several "identities" and which of them is most important should and often does depend on situations in which we find ourselves — whether we are attending church or playing our favourite sport, practising or watching "our" folk dances, sharing problems with colleagues in our trade or profession or feeling solidarity with our own sex, or watch-

ing the South African flag flutter over South Africa House, London, during a visit there.

What does lift racial identity to the absurd and artificial importance it has in our country is the power and privilege attaching to white race classification; similarly, the common experience from babyhood of many forms of racial discrimination helps to make all African people together feel as much group solidarity as whites do.

This group solidarity is stronger than the separatist device of "national states" in the long run — as was indeed strikingly shown by the interview with Mrs Ellen Kuzwayo (*The Star*, July 23) when she said: "I have written about the mothers of our nation." She did not mean Zulu or Sotho when she said that.

We should drop the delusion that most African people in South Africa consider their tribal differences to be more important than their shared life experiences as Africans in South Africa, our common fatherland.

● Dr Franz Auerbach, a Johannesburg educationist, is a former president of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

CSO: 3400/2107

## 'COLOURED' ELECTION' POSES DILEMMA FOR VOTERS

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 9 Aug 84 p 9

[Article by Chris Freimond: "To Vote or Not? That's the Real Question for Coloureds"]

[Text]

**WITH** less than two weeks to go until the "coloured" election a clear dilemma for many voters has emerged.

The poll on August 22 is being billed by some politicians as a foot in the door of power and a chance to destroy apartheid.

But supporters of abstention see it as the co-option of coloureds by the Nationalists to bolster the oppression of blacks.

Whether the poll is high or not, 80 coloureds will be elected to their racially separate House of Representatives in the new Parliament.

There is little doubt the Labour Party, headed by the Rev Alan Hendrickse, will win an overwhelming majority.

The Labour Party has 80 candidates. Four were returned unopposed. Its main election rival, the People's Congress Party, has 59 candidates. The Freedom Party 24, and a Freedom Party splinter group, the Reformed Freedom Party, 11. There are 32 independent candidates.

It is difficult to assess how many seats each of the parties will win. The Reformed Freedom Party will possibly not win any, and the Freedom Party perhaps only a couple.

The People's Congress Party could win six and independent candidates might take a few.

But the Labour Party is likely to have at least 60 seats, probably more.

The main policy differences between the parties put the Labour Party in one camp and the other three in another.

The Labour Party is calling for an end to apartheid and majority rule in a unitary state.

Again, it is ironic that these are also the aims of the anti-participation groups, but the strategies are completely different.

Speeches by Labour Party leaders are at times radical and militant. They have called for nationalisation of industries — including mines — and redistribution of national wealth.

The Labour Party rejects the new Constitution but believes it can use it to lever

more concessions from the Nationalists and thereby destroy apartheid.

The other parties believe to varying degrees in coloured nationalism and ethnic power bases. They are not in favour of majority rule but do not support apartheid.

The Labour Party is well organised, well financed (it claims its money comes from supporters and coloured businessmen) and has the services of a political consultancy run by senior Nationalists.

The other parties rely mainly on local support and are not well organised or well financed.

Judging by crowds at public meetings, the Labour Party has the greatest support. At a recent meeting in its Eastern Cape stronghold, Mr Hendrickse drew about 1 000 supporters.

Poor attendances have been blamed by the Labour Party on fear of intimidation by anti-participation groups and the cold weather.

Perhaps a surprising aspect of the campaign has been the relative lack of



violence. There were indications at the start that nearly all public meetings would be disrupted.

Although there have been a number of clashes between "pro" and "anti" supporters in which police have intervened, most meetings have been peaceful.

However, there are a number of areas — particularly in the Cape Peninsula — where the Labour Party has not held meetings through fear of disruption.

Ranged against participation are a number of non-racial political groupings which appear to have wide support.

Probably the most significant is the United Democratic Front, to which about 600 trade unions, cultural, sports and community organisations are affiliated.

A recent rally of the UDF and like-minded groupings in Cape Town drew an estimated 4 000 people.

Other opponents of participation are the non-racial

Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses. A crowd of about 750 attended a recent TIC meeting in Lensala, near Johannesburg.

Another opponent of participation is the black consciousness orientated National Forum. There have also been calls for abstention by a number of trade unions and religious organisations.

Some of the "anti" groupings have alleged intimidation by the authorities. The recent banning of two UDF meetings in the Eastern Cape has been cited as an example.

The groupings have denied links with the African National Congress or involvement in petrol bombings of the houses of "participant" politicians and other blacks working within Government created institutions.

TIC president Dr Essop Jassat suggested at a recent meeting that the bombings

may be deliberate attempts to smear the "anti" groups and generate support for the participants.

As an alternative to voting, some of the "anti" groups have called for continued pressure through worker and cultural organisations to force the Nationalists to offer something more substantial than the new Constitution.

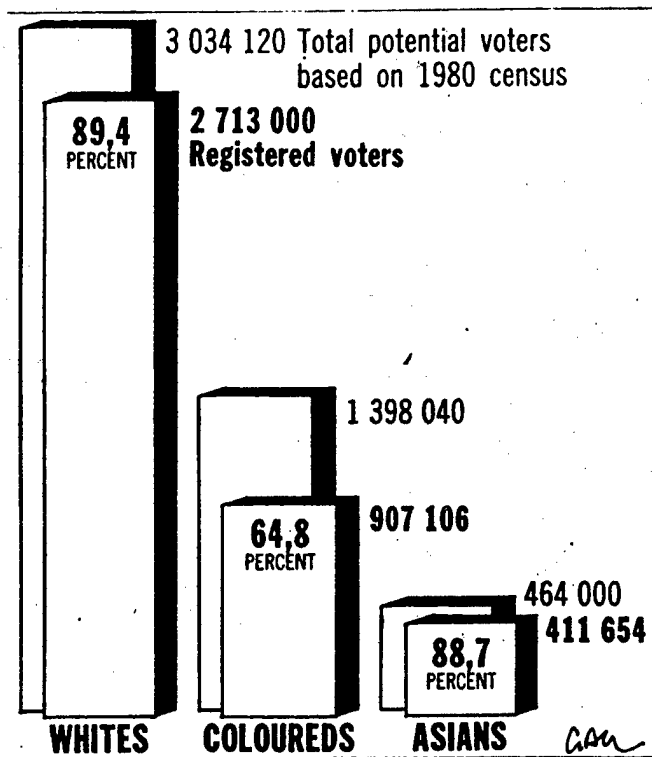
The exclusion of blacks from the new system and the retention of what are regarded as the most unpalatable aspects of apartheid are cited as the main reasons for non-participation.

It seems calls for abstention have strong support in urban constituencies, particularly in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg.

In summary, it seems that the Labour Party will win nearly all the House of Representatives seats, but the percentage poll will be relatively low.

(Report by Chris Freimond, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg).

## Census Shows 64% of Potential Voters



**THE 907 106 registered "coloured" voters represent only 64,8% of the potential "coloured" electorate, based on the 1980 census figures. And the figure could be even lower, according to some Government officials and researchers, who believe the actual number of "coloured" adults might be as much as 12% higher than 1980 figures. In the "Indian" community, 88,7% of the potential voters, based on the 1980 census, have registered. Again, this figure could be lower if the registration is based on research estimates of the actual "Indian" population. By comparison, by November last year, 89,4% of potential white voters based on the 1980 census were in possession of**

**Books of Life on which voters rolls will be compiled in future.**

**The figures mean that the percentage polls in the "coloured" and "Indian" elections later this month will have to be substantial if it is to be claimed that the outcomes are representative of the will of the majority of the two groups.**

**A 50% official poll in the "coloured" election will mean a 32,4% actual poll, based on the 1980 census figures, and an even lower poll if based on the estimated 1,5-million potential "coloured" voters.**

**In the "Indian" election, a 50% official poll will mean a 44,3% poll, based on the 1980 census figures, and possibly an even lower poll based on research estimates.**

**(Report by Chris Freimond, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg).**

CSO: 3400/2107

NRP LOOKING AT OPTIONS AS SPLIT HAUNTS LEADERSHIP

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by David Braun]

[Text]

A stormy debate is raging within the ranks of the New Republic Party about its future.

On the eve of the new constitutional system there are signs that the highest organs of the party are divided.

The options appear to be to join the National Party en bloc, join as individuals, reconstitute as a new party with a different name and even a new leader, or stay on course as the same party but with a renewed drive to recruit members and media support.

Party leaders are tight-lipped about the discussions and the national leader, Mr Vause Raw, was angry when *The Star* asked him to comment on reports that senior members were seriously considering "walking over" to the Nats.

"I cannot comment on speculation that is designed to hurt the NRP," he said.

Asked why the NRP newspaper, *Volkstem*, was running a debate among readers on whether the party should join the Nats, he said the publication was independent and had a tradition of encouraging a healthy exchange of views.

Was the latest rift between the party's Natal leader, Mr Ron Miller, and his MPC, Dr Fred Clarke — on whether to support a Nat or a Prog candidate in a Durban municipal by-election — indicative of a more serious split in the party?

Mr Raw said members were free to support any party they liked when there was no NRP candidate.

There have been repeated claims that the NRP Natal provincial councillors show far more opposition to the NP than the NRP parliamentary caucus does.

Mr Miller is the subject of speculation in Nationalist circles that he is seriously considering joining the NP and may take three or four senior NRP members with him.

URBAN BLACKS

When *The Star* asked Mr Miller if this was true he laughed and declined to comment.

Asked if this answer meant that he did not deny that he was planning to join the NP, Mr Miller said: "No comment at all."

Transvaal leader Mr Alex Anderson said today he would not join the NP while it reserves the top jobs for Broederbond members and has no viable policy for urban blacks.

He said provincial leaders met recently and members were briefed on the caucus's views on the future.

"The Transvaal does not necessarily accept the caucus opinion — caucus is in any case not a decision-making body of the party — and we have asked Mr Raw to brief us more fully at a meeting of the executive on Saturday."

Mr Anderson thought the party's future could be decided best by a meeting of the federal council, and no date for that had been set.

He believed there were many moderate South Africans who

would like their political home to be between the NP and the Progressive Federal Party.

"I believe those people have a right to see their views reflected."

Lower down in the Transvaal NRP hierarchy, several members canvassed by *The Star* expressed their doubts about the future of the NRP. Some people thought there was no future unless the leadership was changed.

There is a distinct element in the party leaning towards the idea of joining the Nats, particularly since the NRP supports the new Constitution and has a commitment to ensure that it works.

One idea mentioned was that the NRP should revert to the United Party and try to attract any disgruntled Prog representatives and supporters.

CSO: 3400/2107

# SUZMAN'S LONG POLITICAL CAREER DESCRIBED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 8 Aug 84 p 9

[Article by Chris Friemond: "Helen Suzman: She's Not Retired from Opposition Politics Just Yet"]

[Text]

The Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, is about to become the most senior Member of Parliament. Here she reviews her 32 years in Parliament and looks at the new constitutional era into which South Africa is moving

**FOR 32 years Helen Suzman has watched from Parliament's Opposition benches as all five Nationalist Prime Ministers since 1948 have ruled South Africa.**

The extent of her political relationship with them varied, but was clearly characterised by mutual dislike and, at times, open hostility.

"When I was a young backbencher, Dr D F Malan was this lofty sort of semi-religious character and I had no contact with him at all, nor with Mr J G Strijdom.

"I had more contact with Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, because we had argued across the floor when he was Minister of Native Affairs. We had several very heated exchanges over the years.

"I must say he was a frightening character. He was very sure of himself.

There was no doubt that he thought he had all the answers and had a divine mission in life. It's very hard to argue with people like that.

"When Mr John Vorster came along it was a little different, because I had a lot to do with him as Minister of Justice. I used to visit him at the Union Buildings to intercede on behalf of detainees.

"Whenever I went to see him he was polite, but there was never any warmth in his reception ... there was no friendship and he was always disapproving because I was interceding on behalf of the 'enemies' of South Africa.

"When he became Prime Minister he took a real dislike to me and there was one year when he was openly antagonistic and very hostile.

"My relationship with Mr P W Botha had never been good, and that dates from

way back. I knew that as a Cape Nat organiser and MP he was one of the motivators of the removal of coloureds from the common voters' roll.

"He was also a Minister when the four coloured representatives were taken out of Parliament. That was a really disgusting bit of political chicanery, because it was done purely to prevent the Progressive Party winning the seats.

"Mr Botha and I had some terrible rows in Parliament over that. I didn't mince words, and neither did he. He said some really libelous things about the Progressive Party.

"Then, of course, you will remember at the time of Dr Verwoerd's assassination in 1966 Mr Botha lost control of himself and shouted at me in Parliament and virtually accused me and my liberal friends of arranging the assassination.

"He was made to apologise for it, but I never forgave him because of the manner in which he apologised.

"I might have overlooked his loss of control at that particularly horrific moment, but the next day — when he was called on to apologise — he did so in the most ungracious possible manner.

"I swore to myself that I would have nothing more to do with him and I never have."

**HELEN SUZMAN** is not retiring from politics just yet. She wants to see the new Constitution in operation.

Not that she believes it will succeed or holds much hope for the future, but it represents unfinished business. It is the latest in a series of issues that have kept her active in public life for 32 years.

Next month, when the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, becomes South Africa's first executive State President — as he undoubtedly will — Mrs Suzman will be the most senior Member of Parliament.

She was elected to represent Houghton for the United Party in April, 1953. She split from the UP in 1959 when the Progressive Party was formed. For 13 years, from 1961 to 1974, she was the only PP representative in Parliament.

It was as a lone liberal voice — and at times the only dissenting voice — that she faced the consolidation of National Party power; the fine honing of Verwoerdian apartheid, draconian security legislation and the unprecedented oppression of millions of black South Africans.

It was a challenge that few people would have taken up, let alone survived. But Mrs Suzman did ... and flourished.

In spite of the tragedies that in so many ways seemed to overwhelm South Africa during much of her

time in Parliament, surprisingly little bitterness is evident when she looks back.

She clearly believes that as an Opposition MP she has been able to play a meaningful role in a system that seemed, over the years, to move further and further away from any hope of basic democracy.

Although opposition MPs came nowhere near either to bringing down the Government or eroding the cornerstones of apartheid, Mrs Suzman believes she and some of her colleagues were instrumental in relieving at least some of the suffering caused by discrimination and of highlighting the more horrifying aspects of National Party policy.

Under the circumstances, these were probably among the most valuable actions of the opposition.

As a senior MP, Mrs Suzman has access to Cabinet Ministers and heads of Government departments.

"In a way that's probably the most valuable role of an opposition MP because you are interceding on behalf of other people all the time.

"The arrival of post always carries with it a request from somebody. It's either someone who has been banned, or someone whose relative has been detained, or someone who can't get a passport, or of course innumerable blacks with pass problems," she said.

Her powerlessness to change what she believes has been so wrong with Nationalist policies is clearly depressing.

"It's when you see the most obvious defects of Government before your eyes and you don't see anything being done about it that you get most depressed," she said.

And there is little doubt that Mrs Suzman has witnessed in Parliament the birth of many of the defects of Nationalist rule.

Early in the Sixties, Father Cosmas Desmond introduced her to the horrors of population "removals". "He took me to Limehill in Natal and I was absolutely appalled at what I saw ... the graves of small children.

"Removals were at their crudest then, with people literally just being dumped in these areas without even being given tents. There was no water supply, no shop, no transport, nothing. It was a pretty horrifying site."

Depression also swept over her when, in her opinion, there was inadequate Parliamentary opposition to Nationalist actions from people she believed should have known better.

"When the 90-day (detention without trial) Bill was introduced and the official opposition, then the UP, didn't fight it, my heart went into my boots, because I knew that from then on we were on the slippery slide right away from the rule of law and protection of the individual against the might of the State, which is what it amounted to," she said.

Among her deepest regrets are what she believes are the lost opportunities.

"Thinking back, it's what this country could have been had Smuts not lost the 1948 election.

"I know he was by no means a liberal ... but I do know that his acceptance of the Fagan Commission recommendations meant a basic change in policy as far as blacks were concerned.

"It meant the recognition that blacks were in the urban areas to stay, and that a whole new set of laws was needed to replace the old ones. That in itself would have made an enormous difference.

"I'm sure Smuts would not simply have shared power that readily, but certainly I think the coloureds would not have come off the common voters' roll, the 'homelands' policy would never

have emerged and there might have been a breakdown of the migratory labour system which has been such a blot on the whole socio-economic structure of this country. "I also think of the vast number of immigrants we would have got. Instead, they swept on to Australia and went across to Canada. If they had come here it would have made a great difference to the whole development and thinking of South Africa."

Mrs Suzman does not deny there has been change in National Party policy since the mid-Fifties.

"I think there have been several important changes, and I think it's more than a change of image. But the changes have come so late and now the cost is going to be so much greater."

Changes to labour policy and the consequences which have given blacks more bargaining power have been very important, she believes.

Ironically, when labour reforms were at their height in 1979, Mrs Suzman said she heard Nationalist MPs making similar speeches calling for greater black involvement to those she made in the Fifties ... and for which she was denigrated.

She believes the 99-year

leasehold system for black home ownership was an important change, but that it is still not the same as freehold.

"You might say the new Constitution itself is a change, with coloureds and Indians being brought into the structure. That is true, but our attitude is that the very exclusion of blacks at the time of a new Constitution is repeating the old mistakes of 1910 when it was thought the black population could be excluded.

"I think we will pay for this mistake with increased urban violence," Mrs Suzman said.

She is not optimistic about the future of either the new Parliament or the country under Nationalist rule.

"I don't see blacks being brought into the system, certainly within the foreseeable future. The Constitution has been structured in such a way that it is impossible. Where do you fit in 20-million blacks on a 4:2:1 ratio?

"I think the Nats truly believe that by giving blacks a vote in the Homelands they have solved the wider question of political rights and they think something can be done for urban blacks on a more limited basis in the urban areas," she said.

Mrs Suzman does not believe the Nationalists contemplate including blacks in central decision-making any more than they contemplate the removal of the cornerstones of apartheid, such as the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, influx control and separate education.

Asked how her attitude to the Nationalists has changed — if at all — in 32 years, Mrs Suzman said: "I don't think I've 'calmed down'. I think I've become exasperated ... realising that much of what I say is repetitive. But I can't help it because the Nats' policies are repetitive.

"One gets a little older and perhaps a little less brash ... but I hate the National Party's policies as much as I've always hated them."

Mrs Suzman believes it is difficult to say what role the Opposition will play under the new Constitution. Much will depend on the level of public debate.

"If there is no airing of views in public, the sharp edge of opposition could be undermined," she said. She believed there was "no question" that the PFP had to participate in the new system and do its best to continue pressing for change.

## SCHWARZ GIVES 5-YEAR FORECAST

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 5 Aug 84 p 22

[Article by Harry Schwarz]

[Text]

IN Africa, life can move along slowly for long periods and suddenly it can change in dramatic fashion. To endeavour to forecast the future is a hazardous exercise; to do so in Africa at this time almost impossible.

However, having been invited to do so, I venture into these difficult waters.

The new constitution will come into operation in September 1984, and during the first year we will probably see a settling-in process while the new coloured and Indian MPs find their feet.

Some cynical and partisan political observers believe that the new MPs will become relatively silent observers in a system beneficial to them.

On the contrary, in my view, strong demands will be made not only for their coloured and Indian constituents, but the leadership will seek to achieve change for the black community.

The combination of teething troubles of a new constitution, a fairly strident attitude by at least some of the new MPs, will, to say the least, make the position volatile.

The black community will itself not remain inactive. There is always the possibility of difficulties in the schools, as well as outbreaks of violence in squatter camps and other potential incidents which could spark off violence, and which, if not carefully handled, could deteriorate into a more serious situation.

### Action

It cannot be assumed that the UDF will content itself merely with periodic protest meetings or that other local black organisations will not seek to achieve greater status by some form of action.

The ANC, having suffered setbacks in Swaziland and Mozambique, will, it can be assumed, not only seek to continue sporadic acts of violence against prestige targets, but might launch some major confrontation to compensate for its setbacks, and so build up its international status.

The Government's security apparatus is powerful, and its policies towards adjoining states are such that major conflicts on the RSA's borders during the next five years are relatively remote.

Even a change in the US administration in November, which at this time seems unlikely, will not in the next few years bring about a substantial change in the relationship between SA and its neighbours.

SWA/Namibia might resolve itself during the next five years, but even on the assumption that a Swapo-controlled government were to take over in that

territory (which is not a certainty), it will be so concerned with establishing itself and dealing with the territory's internal problems, that it will have little occasion to provide bases or material help for assaults on the Republic.

An independent Namibia would, of course, change the boundary situation of South Africa, not only because it would make the Orange River a new frontier, but because it would change the situation of Botswana, which would be far less able, with its small population, large area, limited resources and extensive boundaries, to resist pressure to provide bases against the Republic.

The effect of this will be to create a long and potentially threatening boundary from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, and a



Mozambique type accord, or understanding, will become essential.

However I do not believe this will become a serious problem in the next five years.

If one is looking at constitutional development, then the next five years will certainly see further development in respect of blacks.

This does not mean merely that more home-

lands may take independence, but that two other movements will occur: the evolution of representative institutions for blacks in urban areas and some constitutional development in the field of confederation between and with the black states.

Whether or not the urban black will be accommodated in the existing structure for coloureds, Indians and whites will, to a large extent, depend on the degree of success of the new constitution.

If the lengthy political torment which accompanied the conception, development and birth of the present constitution is to be regarded as a precedent, the next move in respect of urban blacks is likely to be at least equally difficult and slow.

But I have little doubt that five years from now non-homeland blacks will be in the forefront of new constitutional development.

In other political spheres there may be somewhat speedier progress. The next five years will almost certainly see the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act.

There will be moves to close gaps in social services and to alleviate other discriminatory measures.

## Unions

Two factors are likely to have a major bearing on life five years hence, both of which will have political and economic impact: the growth in strength of black trade unions and unemployment.

Black trade unions will have far greater membership and leadership with more experience and expertise.

Industrial action will increase in intensity and will extend to more economic activities.

While trade unions are normally weak in times of unemployment, this is unlikely to be the position in South Africa, because of the lack of mobility of black labour and the existence of reservoirs in the black areas where large numbers of the unemployed will be found.

Many of the unemployed in the urban areas will be there as "illegals" and therefore not readily and legitimately able to replace striking workers.

Unemployment will, inevitably, increase during the period under review. About 1.5-million new jobs will have to be found merely to absorb the new job-seekers, let alone deal with the approximately 2-million presently unemployed.

The growth rate in the economy is totally inadequate and is unlikely to reach an average level in the next five years to deal with the problems.

## Unemployed

Certainly the economy does not have the financial resources to create jobs at the current average cost.

The problem is that the population is growing at a faster rate than the economy — under existing policies — can absorb new work-seekers.

The instability which is inherent in a high level of unemployment is a real danger in the years ahead and this can only be ignored at the country's peril.

The irony is that despite increasing unemployment, there will be greater literacy and more educated people.

It must be realised that this in itself creates even more instability, as the educated unemployed are far more frustrated than the uneducated.

The population increase will increase demand for output by the economy. Not only will more be eaten, more clothes worn and more shelter sought, but more will be read, listened to and looked at, and — side-by-side with poverty — there will also be an increase in leisure activity by those who are in the privileged, higher-income groups.

Changing patterns of purchasing power will be seen and more and more the percentage of total purchasing power will move away from the whites to other groups.

The question, of course, arises as to how strong will our economy be to meet all the challenges facing it five years from now.

Will the correct priorities be set and will incentives be given which will cause wealth to be generated at the maximum rate?

The South African economy is, and will remain, an open one. More than half of the GNP is, and will continue to be, related to imports and exports.

The influence on the Republic of the economies of our trading partners has been demonstrated in recent times.

To judge our future we

need to consider not only the economic situation of our trading partners, but also the political actions which such countries might take to influence trade with the Republic.

The possibility in five years' time of a Democratic President with antagonistic views towards South Africa is not impossible.

So, too, can a Labour Party or SDF victory in Britain and a Social Democrat win in Germany not be excluded.

Much as one may regret it, the tendency over the past two decades has been for international pressure to increase, or at least remain constant, and there is no indication that matters will improve.

The balance of payments will obviously be affected by our ability to export and by the gold price, and on factors such as the price of oil and other imponderables.

Bearing in mind the continued need to create infrastructure and import capital goods for this and other purposes, our balance of payments problems will need constant monitoring.

## Inflation

Population continues to increase and growth in per capita terms is unlikely to be of such proportions in the next five years as to mean substantially increased resources for the population as a whole.

If the cake does not increase in size, some existing slices are likely to be smaller.

Inflation will remain a problem. There are structural aspects in the economy and political ingredients which affect the cost structure.

I have tried to paint a picture as I think it will be; not as I would like it to be, or as it needs to be.

Economically, the country is strong and, correctly managed, with a degree of good planning with a correct assessment of priorities and with some sacrifice, we could limit the level of cost increases and achieve a reasonable degree of growth.

With a re-assessment of the need for job creation, we could avoid the poverty and tragedy that massive unemployment might create.

Realism in politics could make a considerable difference to stability. I hope, therefore, that my assessment is too pessimistic. But, regrettably, I think it is realistic.

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY NOTES HARMFUL EFFECTS OF DISINVESTMENT

MB130742 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 13 Aug 84

[Station commentary: "The Effects of Disinvestment"]

[Text] It is ironic that, at a time when more realism exists in Africa about relations with South Africa, overseas clamor for disinvestment from South Africa should be at its height. In an address to the South African Institute of International Affairs in Pretoria last week, the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Mr Louis Nel, disclosed that all but four nations on the African continent maintained economic relations with South Africa. Without exception, he said, all South Africa's neighbors rejected sanctions and were seeking increased benefits from closer economic association with the republic.

Whatever the reasons for it, Africa's dire economic straits, compounded by prolonged drought in much of the continent, has led to a reevaluation by African governments of their relations with the West and South Africa. In Kiicoyp Africa in particular, this spirit of realism has resulted in cooperation agreements between South Africa and neighboring states. This realism has been born not of approval of one another's internal policies, but of the desire to normalize relations in the interest of the economic welfare of the region.

The economic interdependence of the subcontinent is an inescapable fact. South Africa has rightly been described as Africa's superpower. As such, it is well placed to fulfill its role as a catalyst for development in the region and beyond. Conversely, should South Africa's economy be damaged by outside forces, it will have a devastating effect on the well-being of the entire subcontinent.

More than 2 years ago, the OAU said in a report that successful economic sanctions against South Africa would unleash a tidal wave of trouble that would destroy the economies of South Africa's neighbors--Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and even others further afield such as Zambia, Zaire, and Malawi. South Africa cannot fulfill its economic role in Southern Africa without foreign investment. Economic development is dependent on foreign investment, which in turn is dependent on political stability. It is this whole interreaction that will be broken if the overseas campaign succeeds.

These are the realities that the advocates of disinvestment from South Africa will have to consider.

CSO: 3400/2039

FACTORS LEADING TO MORE DIFFICULT ECONOMIC TIMES AHEAD

Gold, Drought, Mistakes

Pretoria BEELD in Afrikaans 10 Jul 84 p 14

[Editorial: "Cold Winds"]

[Text] Gold, the great supporting pillar of South African economy, is about to leave the country in the lurch. But with all these somber prospects one must not lose sight of the fact that today South Africa can probably cope much better with the present drop, and even collapse, of the price of gold than it could have several years ago. Making the country's economy less dependent on gold turned out to be a wise policy.

However, it would be inopportune to underestimate the cold winds that are at the moment blowing over the economy. Because of the unfortunate coincidence of circumstances the economy is struggling with a number of well known ailments.

Some of these problems can be ascribed to mistakes made in the recent past; others are again the result of developments which nobody can control and in this respect one has especially in mind the drought and the price of gold.

One thing we must watch against is yielding to the temptation of attributing all of our problems to foreign influences.

One must accept the fact that South Africa had gotten used to live above its means...and if one year did not turn out to be an exceptional agricultural year which pulled the cart across the ford, the following year there was a sudden increase in the price of gold.

These strokes of good luck spoiled South Africa and therefore it hurts all the more to see that there are no prospects in these hard times for a stroke of good luck to recur.

Instead of counting on strokes of good luck it will be necessary to make painful adaptations and if the patient displays the necessary will to swallow the bitter medicine there is all the hope that he can face a future with a healthier economic structure.

## Strong Dollar, High Interest Rates

Pretoria DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 9 Jul 84 p 8

[Editorial "Fasten the Belts"]

[Text] Fasten the seat belts, it's going to be a bumpy ride for everybody: entrepreneurs, consumers...everybody. Unless something that will shake the world to its foundations happens, the dollar will maintain its excessive strength to at least the end of this year...with everything that this implies: a low price for gold, high interest rates, more expensive imports, a sharp increase in fuel prices (which seem unavoidable at this stage), unemployment and other miseries.

Throughout his term in office a strong dollar has been one of President Reagan's most import objectives and therefore it can be expected that his administration will do nothing that will undermine the strength of their monetary unit. This will almost always be the strongest point presented to the U.S. public for his re-election in November. It will not matter so much whether his rate of interest policy will result in an increase in unemployment in the United States, because whether there are now 5 or 6 million unemployed these will scarcely be of consequence against more than 140 million voters who are now proud and contented.

Because of the fact that the world's oil merchants are insisting on payment in dollars (rather than gold or other currencies) South Africa, as most other oil consumers, will be paying more for its oil and this will naturally be a portion of the price which South Africans will have to pay. Starting today the Reserve Bank has increased its prime interest to banks by another .25 percent and this can presage a higher cost of borrowing.

On top of this credit tightening will increase sharply, especially after the public's buying spree before the general national income tax was increased, and the government will find it necessary to put stricter controls on imports. It is also expected that bigger cash deposits will be required in credit buying transactions.

The fact that the strong dollar is going to cause a lot of widespread pain is also evident in the beating being taken by the pound sterling. This means a period of bad inflation also for South Africa which is in the same situation and can now probably forget the dream of single digit inflation for the coming year.

Trying times are ahead and South Africans, who are simply are not known economic self control, will have to learn this virtue whether they like it or not.

7964

CSO: 3401/99

LETTER BY KOORNHOF CRITICIZES CRITIC OF HOMELANDS POLICY

Johannesburg DIE VADERLAND in Afrikaans 17 Jul 84 p 12

[Text] Dr. P. G. J. Koornhof, Minister of Cooperation and Development,  
Post Box X9034, Capetown:

I would like to comment on the article under the heading "The Homelands Policy Not the Solution After All" by At Viljoen, which appeared in DIE VADERLAND of 21 May, 1984.

In my opinion Mr Viljoen is making two basic mistakes in his article with the result that the government's policy with respect to black people is not being put in perspective. First of all he couples the success of the policy to "radical consolidation" and secondly the governments time estimate on this matter with respect to the new constitutional order of things for whites, coloreds and Indians is supposed to be wrong.

In my opinion neither one of these aspects are measures of decisive importance in the conduct of the government's policy. Total consolidation where each national group would have a single cohesive territory has never been presented as a prerequisite for separate development. There is no denying that a more realistic rounding off of the national states might make this a lot more acceptable to the blacks and to the outside world, but in terms of the policy of self determination and peaceful coexistence this ought not be regarded as a prerequisite.

Mr Viljoen's speculation that the government's timing estimate could possibly be erroneous, is naturally based on his mistaken coupling of consolidation, as would have been contained in the Van der Walt Commission's report, with the success of the homelands policy.

I therefore stick to my point by reemphasizing once again, as was done in the course of the referendum campaign of last year, that the constitutional position of the black people will not be affected by the new constitutional order of things.

The creation of appropriate political endowments for the various black national groups has already been going on for some decades and is still enjoying the highest priority. People who are coupling this development

with the new political order of things for the other population groups and trying to derive political advantage from this are therefore maliciously intentioned and are fishing in dry ground.

Putting into effect the policy of separate development is a long term project. Problems which arise along the way must not simply be regarded as evidence that the policy has failed.

While the government acknowledges that there is a great deal of work ahead the success which has already been attained must also be noticed. Not counting the four states that are already independent and a fifth one which is rapidly on the way to independence, I am also convinced that the remaining national states are administratively and economically better off than many other African countries.

I can hardly imagine what the situation would be in this country today if the government had failed to give form to the homelands policy. Can you imagine what the situation would have been if the leaders of all ten states had been left without a platform for each of them which they have used to represent their people?

From the political point of view the homelands policy is a gigantic success. The economic development of these regions must, however, get more active attention.

But the government is also active in this area and is launching the appropriate special actions. The Development Bank should satisfy many of the needs and the District Commission collaboration, as announced during the Good Hope deliberations resulting in the division of the country into development districts, is giving thorough consideration to the appropriate political development of the various national groups in the country.

7964

CSO: 3401/99

## APPROPRIATION OF FUNDS FOR STATE APPROVED

Pretoria GOVERNMENT GAZETTE in English No 9350, 31 Jul 84 pp 3, 5, 7 9

[Text]

**ACT**

To appropriate an amount of money for the requirements of the State during the financial year ending 31 March 1985.

*(English text signed by the State President.)  
(Assented to 12 July 1984.)*

**BE IT ENACTED** by the State President and the House of Assembly of the Republic of South Africa, as follows:—

1. Subject to the provisions of the Exchequer and Audit Act, 1975 (Act No. 66 of 1975), there is hereby appropriated for the requirements of the State during the financial year ending 31 March 1985, the amounts of money shown in column 1 of the Schedule, with which the State Revenue Account shall be charged.

Appropriation  
of moneys for  
requirements  
of State.

2. This Act shall be called the Appropriation Act, 1984.

Short title.

APPROPRIATION ACT, 1984

Act No. 98, 1984

## Schedule

Vote		Column 1	Column 2
No.	Title		
		R	R
1	State President .....	1 385 000	
2	Parliament .....	9 173 000	
	Including—		
	Grant-in-aid to the Parliamentary Association of the Republic of South Africa .....		140 000
3	Prime Minister .....	10 240 000	
4	Co-operation and Development .....	1 702 558 000	
	Including—		
	Grants-in-aid to the S.A. Development Trust Fund:		
	Purchase of land and settlement of people for consolidation of Black areas .....		124 500 000
	Development towards self-determination .....		280 465 000
	Project aid .....		15 000 000
	Purchase of properties in independent, former self-governing, states .....		15 000 000



	Establishment of townships in independent, former self-governing, states and subsidizing of transport system, Mabopane .....	50 300 000	
	Assistance to governments of self-governing national states .....	743 230 000	
5	Transport .....	243 893 000	
	Including—		
	Contributions:		
	Urban Transport Fund .....	9 384 000	
	Level Crossings Elimination Fund .....	2 500 000	
	National Sea Rescue Institute .....	130 000	
6	Finance .....	842 554 000	
	Including—		
	Fiscal transfers to:		
	S.A. Transport Services .....	60 000 000	
	Posts and Telecommunications .....	1 000	
	Local Loans Fund .....	1 000	
	Central Revenue Fund of South West Africa .....	348 000 000	
	Development Bank of Southern Africa .....	160 000 000	
	Secret services .....	84 000 000	
7	Audit .....	10 883 000	
8	Constitutional Development and Planning .....	4 559 413 000	
	Including—		
	Provincial subsidies .....		4 520 722 000
9	Foreign Affairs .....	651 632 000	
10	Internal Affairs .....	1 293 242 000	
	Including—		
	Grants-in-aid:		
	Maatskappy vir Europese Immigrasie .....	175 000	
	1820 Settlers' Association .....	105 000	
	Promotion of sport and culture .....	45 000	
	Special grants to homes for the aged and infirm:		
	Coloureds .....	30 000	
	Child welfare: Special grants-in-aid:		
	Coloureds .....	100 000	
	Indians .....	30 000	
11	Commission for Administration .....	46 329 000	
	Including—		
	Grant-in-aid to S.A. Institute of Organization and Methods .....		5 000
12	Improvement of conditions of service .....	267 000 000	
13	Police .....	795 640 000	
	Including—		
	Grant-in-aid to S.A.P. Recreation and Benevolent Fund ..		40 000
14	Health and Welfare .....	1 722 468 000	
	Including—		
	Contributions and grants-in-aid:		
	Mission hospitals .....	1 000	
	S.A. N.T.A. centres .....	25 000	
	Springkell Sanatorium .....	10 000	
	National Cancer Association .....	1 000	
	S.A. National Council for the Blind .....	80 000	
	Training organizations: Community health nurses .....	16 000	
	S.A. Noodhulpliga, S.A. Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Brigade .....	6 000	
	S.A. Medical Research Council .....	17 616 000	
	S.A. Institute for Medical Research .....	21 000	
	Salvation Army .....	3 000	
	Financial assistance to National Council for Mental Health .....	100 000	
	Bursaries .....	200 000	
	Special grants to homes for the aged and infirm .....	350 000	
	Subsidies:		
	Child welfare: Additional/Supplementary to any formula .....	100 000	
	Community centres .....	20 000	
15	National Education .....	866 675 000	
	Including—		
	Grants-in-aid:		
	School funds .....	12 000	
	National Monuments Council .....	1 637 000	
	Table Mountain Preservation Board .....	3 000	
	Promotion of cultural services, youth work and publicity .....	14 554 000	
	S.A. Institute, Amsterdam .....	10 000	
	Overseas study .....	9 000	
	Human Sciences Research Council and Africa Institute .....	35 470 000	

	Promotion of sport and recreation .....		3 705 000
	Financial assistance:		
	Declared cultural institutions .....		18 709 000
	Literature for the visually handicapped .....		109 000
16	Defence .....	3 754 667 000	
	Including—		
	Grants-in-aid:		
	S.A.D.F. Recreation Fund .....		120 000
	S.A. Shottist Union .....		30 000
	S.A. Red Cross Society .....		36 000
	St. John Ambulance Brigade .....		39 000
	S.A. Noodhulpliga .....		88 000
	International Committee of the Red Cross .....		50 000
17	Manpower .....	92 285 000	
	Including—		
	Contributions:		
	Manpower Development Fund .....		1 000 000
	National Productivity Institute .....		5 052 000
	Manpower and Management Foundation of Southern Africa .....		300 000
18	Industries and Commerce .....	575 757 000	
	Including—		
	Contributions:		
	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research .....		155 110 000
	S.A. Bureau of Standards .....		20 697 000
	Small Business Development Corporation, Limited ....		5 000 000
	Grant-in-aid to the S.A. Tourism Board .....		16 797 000
19	Justice .....	134 782 000	
	Including—		
	Contribution to Legal Aid Board .....		4 105 000
20	Prisons .....	311 592 000	
	Including—		
	Contribution to Nexus .....		14 000
21	Community Development .....	1 269 904 000	
	Including—		
	Financial assistance to municipalities:		
	Simonstown .....		1 168 000
	Various .....		73 832 000
	Financial assistance:		
	Board of Control: Huguenot Monument .....		18 000
	Louis Trichardt Association .....		13 000
	1820 Settlers' National Monument Foundation, Grahamstown .....		388 000
	Board of Control: Die Afrikaanse Taalmonument ....		47 000
	Grants-in-aid:		
	Public Servants Association .....		630 000
	Control Board: Voortrekker Monument .....		367 000
22	Environment Affairs .....	392 404 000	
	Including—		
	Welfare and recreation facilities .....		15 000
	Grants-in-aid:		
	S.A. Forestry Association .....		14 000
	Wattle Research Institute .....		365 000
	University of Stellenbosch .....		867 000
	National Botanical Gardens .....		2 969 000
	National Parks Board .....		11 580 000
	Contribution to National Hiking Way Fund .....		1 000
23	Agriculture .....	684 778 000	
	Including—		
	Grants-in-aid:		
	S.A. Studbook Association .....		5 000
	S.A. Agricultural Union .....		2 000
	S.A. Women's Agricultural Union .....		1 000
	Royal Agricultural Society .....		3 000
	Central Agricultural Society .....		3 000
	Animal protection and welfare organizations .....		150 000
	Industry subsidies and assistance .....		162 404 000
24	Mineral and Energy Affairs .....	557 637 000	
	Including—		
	Contribution to the Council for Mineral Technology .....		26 779 000

Vote		Column 1	Column 2
No.	Title		
25	Education and Training .....	R	R  61 000
	Including—	709 257 000	
	Grant-in-aid to the Research Unit for Education System Planning at the University of the O.F.S. ....		
	Total .....	21 506 148 000	

CSO: 3400/2107

## TUMAHOLE TOWNSHIP UNREST ANALYZED

Johannesburg THE STAR/REVIEW in English 21 Jul 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Revelation Ntoula]

[Text]

**V**ERY little was known about the tiny, dusty black township of Tumahole near the Free State dorp of Parys until this week when violence erupted in the area.

In conventional black thinking today, the mere fact of the township being situated in the Free State has the effect of lumping the Tumahole residents together with those from whom little or nothing could be expected in the way of the "liberation struggle".

The recent civic upheavals, prompted by a rent increase on houses owned by the Tumahole Town Council, and coupled with a general increase in service charges like garbage and night-soil removal, suddenly attracted country-wide attention to the sleepy town of Parys and its sister township, Tumahole.

Tumahole which is situated 35 km from the comparatively well-off black townships of Sebokeng and Sharpeville near Vereeniging, is something of an island, economically and socio-politically.

Economically because by sheer accident the township is situated in the Orange Free State where black wages are substantially lower than in the neighbouring Transvaal.

The Tumahole residents are painfully aware of the wage discrepancy.

They are also aware that influx control laws do not permit them to market their labour in the more profitable areas of the Transvaal. That they have no choice but to be content with the "Vrystaat" wages.

## FOUR DAYS OF VIOLENCE

**SATURDAY:** Some 12 000 residents gather at an anti-rent increase rally to seek explanation for the enforced increases. Councillors refuse to attend the meeting and this angers the residents who demand that the councillors be brought to their meeting. Police follow the march to the councillor's residences and order the protestors to disperse.

**SATURDAY AFTERNOON AND NIGHT:** A violent clash between the police and residents flares up. The police use teargas and charge the marchers with sjamboks. The situation deteriorates at night and more teargas is used while a block of flats belonging to one of the councillors, Mr Daniel Hlalele is gutted and looted. The disturbances continue into the night.

**SUNDAY MORNING:** Police arrested many people on various offences, but the disturbances continue, with more teargassing.

**SUNDAY NIGHT:** More violent clashes occur and among others, Mr Bonakele Ngalo is arrested and taken into custody, but is later reported to have died in a cell.

**MONDAY:** It is relatively quiet in the morning but trouble flares up again after some 1 000 students are ordered home by their principals. Stone-throwing begins and the police are once more forced to use teargas. More people are arrested. The situation gets worse in the afternoon and the police get re-inforcements.

**TUESDAY:** A number of civic leaders including the chairman of the the Tumahole Civic Association and that of the Students Movement, are detained for questioning. Another violent clash occurs with the police during the night and more teargas is fired. The situation calms down as word spreads that the leaders had been released by the police.

The Tumahole residents have no real social or political contact with their more advanced neighbours in the Transvaal townships like the Vereeniging-Vanderbijlpark black complexes and Soweto. This has had the effect of the turning the Tumahole residents into a close-knit community with a culture and thinking of their own.

A prominent feature of Tumahole is the sharp contrast between the haves and the have-nots. Another is the vast gap between the well-educated and the illiterate.

These sharp contrasts, coupled with that of isolation, seem to have had a significant influence in the recent unrest.

It is not uncommon for certain people in the township to own a fleet of some of the latest luxury imported cars while on the other extreme, some residents cannot even afford a bicycle.

It is also a common occurrence for people to own a string of businesses in the area while hundreds of others cannot find work.

Similarly, it is a common sight to spot luxury double storey houses built next to the scores of shacks which have sprung up in the area.

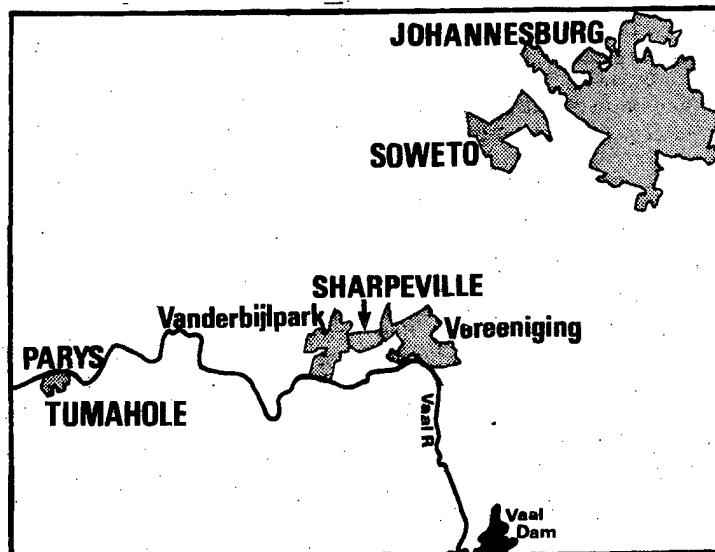
Tumahole boasts of several university graduates and professional people, who would, by nature of their work, earn more than their lesser fortunate co-residents.

According to estimate figures supplied by the residents, over 3 000 people are now workless as a result of the closure of some of the larger factories which provided work for the people.

Hundreds of workers have also been retrenched as a result of the current economic slump. It is also estimated that about 150 domestic workers, most of whom are sole breadwinners for their families, are also without work.

A random survey in Tumahole revealed that an average factory worker earned R18 a week, while those employed in shops and garages earn about R15 for the same period. Domestic workers earn an average of R30 per month.

The current high rate of unemployment and the increase in GST is having an adverse effect on the resident's living below the breadline.



The situation was aptly described by a widow, Mrs Nellie Motsoari, who said life in the area had simply become unbearable for most of the residents, especially those who had lost their jobs.

"I often think it is better to die than to live in this poverty-stricken hell".

The untimely announcement by the local town council that rents and other service charges were to be increased by as much as R15 per month in some instances, appears to have been "the straw which broke the camel's back," commented one resident.

It was this announcement which led to residents calling a public rally and inviting councillors to explain the reason for the increases.

All the councillors however, are reported to have declined the invitation to attend the rally which was held in the open veld outside the township.

According to reports, some of the councillors said attending the rally would be a "waste of time as the residents would have to pay the new rates anyway".

"This," said resident Mr Mpho Nkuna, "angered those who attended the rally."

"How on earth can these people make decisions without consulting with us and still have the audacity to refuse to listen to our grievances?", he asked.

The councillor's failure to attend the rally angered the residents some of whom marched to their councillors to seek an explanation from them for failing to attend the meeting.

The residents claim that their peaceful march was foiled by the police who ordered them to disperse.

A clash between the police and the demonstrators ensued and the township was soon turned into a battlefield as the police charged the protesters with sjamboks and hurled tear smoke cannisters.

A block of shops belonging to one of the councillors, Mr Daniel Hla-lele, was gutted during the unrest.

At least 50 people were arrested during the first six days of the raging unrest. The charges range from theft to looting and public violence, while others have been questioned by the Security Police.

Among them was Tumahole Civic Association chairman, Mr Joshua Mabena, who said the police questioned him about his civic involvement in the township.

"We do not want disturbances in our township. All we want are the councillors to have a frank discussion with the people whom they say they represent. That is all," said Mr Mabena.

Clearly emerging from the unrest — what the Tumahole residents call "the struggle of the poor," — was neither political motivation, nor an attempt to undermine authority. Their grievances, it appears, stem from real bread and butter issues.

The current economic decline resulting in unemployment in their area, low wages, and an apparent lack of communication between the residents and the councillors, all seem to have contributed to the unrest.

The situation it seems, could at least be temporarily defused if the councillors came out to meet the residents and to reason with them and possibly strike a compromise.

CSO: 3400/2107

COMMENTS ON DR KOORNHOF'S RESIGNATION

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans in English 10 Aug 84 p 5

[Article republished in English from THE CAPE TIMES]

[Text]

BY coincidence Dr Koornhof's resignation as Minister of Co-operation and Development was reported yesterday at the same time as headlines were proclaiming the manifest failure of influx control in the Western Cape. Yet Dr Koornhof's decision to step down is not unconnected with the breakdown of the influx control policy. In the last months of his ministerial tenure the signs of disintegration have been all too evident, as were his desperate but unavailing measures to make the policy work.

It is sad for Dr Koornhof that he should be leaving the Cabinet on such a note. He will be remembered above all for his department's merciless drive against squatters at the Cape, as Mrs Suzman has noted, while considerable achievements at earlier stages of his career may well be forgotten. If Dr Koornhof has come to epitomize the dying throes of Verwoerdian ideology in

Nationalist policy, ironically enough, it was this minister who achieved a great deal in other portfolios in breaking down Verwoerdian rigidities, in the integration of private schools, for example, and in achieving a similar result in sport. Much of this was done in patient behind-the-scenes negotiation and so may go unrecorded by historians. It is ironical that the Cabinet's senior *verligte* should find himself, on retiring, cast as a *verkrampste* of the deepest die.

Politically, Dr Koornhof has lost credibility, becoming a victim of the conflict between ideology and common sense which is still raging in *Afrikanerdom*. Moved initially by his own inclinations to be merciful in handling the squatter problem, Dr Koornhof ultimately found himself ministerially responsible for acts of cruelty against squatter communities which have outraged the public conscience. As far as any outsider can tell, it was the Cape Nationalist MPs

in the party caucus who insisted on *kragdadigheid* in dealing with the squatters. And *kragdadigheid* is what a smooth-talking Dr Koornhof eventually gave them, as shelters were destroyed and squatter families were exposed to the bitter rain and cold of winter. The ideological pipedream of a Western Cape without blacks has long bemused Cape Nationalists. For them, Crossroads was a standing affront – and they insisted that it must be gone by the end of this year. But Crossroads is still there and it is Dr Koornhof who is going.

Now that it is obvious to almost everybody that Crossroads will not disappear by the end of this year and that Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga will remain where they are for the foreseeable future, what are the apartheid zealots going to do about it? Who will be prepared to take Dr Koornhof's place, accepting a brief to reverse a process which is manifestly irreversible?

WHITE AFRIKAANS SPEAKERS OUTNUMBERED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 7 Aug 84 p 2

[Article by Jeanette Minnie]

[Text]

ONLY 25% of Afrikaans-speaking people in South Africa are white.

In the "Verslag" SABC TV programme last night it was said that "non-white" speakers of Afrikaans made up 75% of Afrikaans speakers in the country.

Coloured academics and writers in the Cape said on the programme they rejected the theory that Afrikaans was a dying language as it would continue to exist as the main language spoken by coloureds.

Mr Leonard Koza, a Cape poet, said that Afrikaans was not the exclusive property of white Afrikaans speakers and for that reason Afrikaans as a language was not threatened by the declining white Afrikaner birthrate.

Dr Tony Links of the Department of Afrikaans-Nederlands of the University of the Western Cape said that the origins of Afrikaans were not Germanic but that black

and non-Germanic languages had played a fundamental role in its origin.

"This has not received much recognition by Afrikaans-speaking whites. The non-Germanic influences are fundamental to the grammatical structure and lexicon of Afrikaans and lie at the very heart of Afrikaans," he said.

Coloured writers such as Peter Snyders, Leonard Koza, Peter Kaleb and Melvin Whitebooi said that, because of apartheid, white Afrikaners had denied the contribution of coloureds to Afrikaans and had diminished the coloureds in radio and TV dramas to the role of servants who were always on the periphery.

Melvin Whitebooi, who is also an Afrikaans newspaper editor, said his paper's circulation was rising, and more books were being written by coloureds in Afrikaans despite the oppression of coloured people by white Afrikaners.

CSO: 3400/2107



ANGRY INDIANS JEER KROG OVER SCHOOL CLOSURE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Aug 84 p 2M

[Text]

The Director of Indian Education, Mr Gabriel Krog, was jeered at by an angry crowd of 400 parents last night.

He had just announced that he had to leave a meeting called to discuss the fate of 1 000 pupils at the Johannesburg Secondary School, which is threatened with closure.

He gave an assurance he would meet parents on August 24 to discuss the issue. But the meeting adopted a resolution condemning him for his "disgusting and high-handed attitude towards the Johannesburg Indian community".

The proposed closure of the school has raised an outcry from Indian parents in the city, who are concerned over the Department of Indian Affairs' decision to bus the pupils to a new high school in Marlboro, Sandton, from next year.

The department plans to establish four primary schools over the next five years in the Fordsburg-Mayfair area, but has said there is not sufficient space for a high school.

The meeting was briefly interrupted when pupils carrying placards marched through the hall to resounding applause from parents.

Earlier, Mr Krog, who attended the meeting to explain the department's reasons for the decision, said the school — which has been there for more than 40 years — was inadequate and had to be abolished.

"I personally am not in favour of pupils being bused all the way to Lenasia, especially the infants.

**SHOUTED DOWN**

"The only possibility for a high school is to bus pupils to Marlboro," said

Mr Krog.

A candidate for the House of Delegates, Mr Nanubhai Desai, tried to address the meeting, but was shouted down. He was later allowed to speak.

Another candidate in the elections, Mr I F H Mayet, declined to address the meeting.

Mr Cassim Salojee, a member of the steering committee, which has been campaigning to retain the school, said the department wanted to move high school pupils to Marlboro because a R2 million school there was a "white elephant".

"There is ample land available in the Crown Mines region for a high school to be built. The Government had the power and resources to move thousands of people to Lenasia. Surely it can now find the resources to build a school in this region," he said.

COMMENTARY ON 'UNUSED' CAHORA BASSA

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 8 Aug 84 p 1-

[Editorial: "The Mystery of the Missing Power"]

[Text]

LIKE an eerie monument to Africa's intransigence, the massive power installations of Cahora Bassa stand silent in the Mozambican bush: ready to go but unused. For nearly a year no electricity has reached the project's major client, South Africa, because of the continuing activities of the MNR rebels. Some 20 power pylons are sabotaged and because of the lack of adequate military protection, no technicians will travel to repair the lines. This despite the Nkomati Accord four months ago, which among other objectives was supposed to get the Cahora power flowing again.

Implicit in the accord were mutual curbs on the activities of ANC guerillas and the MNR. The MNR part of that bargain has evidently not worked. Strong rebel detachments have been rampaging with increasing boldness through most parts of Mozambique. Nobody seems to know when the power lines will be repaired. With its turbines ticking over at only 0.5 percent of capacity, Cahora Bassa remains one of Africa's great white elephants.

It also represents one of Africa's great mysteries. If Pretoria has indeed "cut off the water" of the MNR, who is funding and supplying it? Where are its strategic bases? Is its momentum taking time to wind down or is it possible, as Mozambican sources suggest, that "some South African sectors" opposed to Nkomati and the Botha policies still maintain clandestine links? If so, how easily or otherwise can these be concealed; and why doesn't Pretoria take appropriate action to stop the subversion of its foreign policy?

There are more questions than answers. More to the point perhaps are reports from Europe (fiercely denied by Maputo) of peace talks between Frelimo and the MNR. The years of colonialism and war in Africa have left some obstinate hangovers of violent dissident interests. The pragmatism of survival may require a country in Mozambique's parlous state to make the occasional improbable deal in order to free itself from their grip. Nkomati itself was one such bargain, after all.

SA CHINESE SEEK EQUALITY

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 6 Aug 84 p 8

[Article by Paul Bell: "South Africa's Chinese Still Want To Be Chinese, But Equal"]

[Text]

**COME SEPTEMBER,** South Africa's 10 000-strong Chinese community could straddle the constitutional divide between whites and coloureds in a unique way.

While there has been no statement from the Government on its actual intentions, a Government source has said one should look to recent changes in the Group Areas Act for indications as to where the Chinese will vote.

The Population Registration Act classifies the Chinese as a coloured subgroup. On the other hand, the Group Areas Amendment Bill which passed through Parliament this last session and will be promulgated shortly, now places the Chinese community squarely in the "white camp".

Until now, the Chinese have been disenfranchised, and still require permits to live and trade in white areas. Until recently, they needed permits to attend white universities, although white Government schools were opened six years ago.

Until about five years ago, Chinese families wishing to buy property in white areas had to consult the local Member of Parliament and their prospective neighbours on whether any party had any objection — a practice which the community found obnoxious and humiliating. This has since fallen into disuse. Permits have been granted automatically in recent years.

In the economic sphere, businessmen were required to obtain permits to trade or own a business in which they held more than 50% of the shares.

Chinese access to "white" facilities, eg restaurants, cinemas, buses, or hospitals, was granted through an "honorary white" status — a precarious privilege which caused anxiety and even humiliation.

The Group Areas amendment will give the Chinese the right to live and trade in white areas. Permission has given way to right.

Of course, those Chinese who have married into other "non-white" groups will have to remain in those group areas. Marriage to whites is still forbidden.

The country's only Chinese group area, Kabega Park in Port Elizabeth, was proclaimed white on July 6.

The Chinese community, represented in its negotiations with the Government by the Chinese Association of South Africa (Casa), expects a decision on its constitutional future soon.

In the meantime, Casa chairman Mr Rodney Leong Man said in an interview that the community was also looking to the Group Areas changes as an indicator.

Mr Man also referred to a recommendation by the President's Council that, at the regional level, the Chinese should accept and exercise political responsibility in the areas in which they live.

"Although the Government has not given any policy indication on this, it might carry through to central government," Mr Man said.

He also quoted from Hansard a statement by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr FW de Klerk, on May 4 that the special circumstances of the community — in terms of its small size

and its distribution throughout the country — would require the Chinese to be fitted into the new dispensation in a special way.

It should also be noted that the community was not called upon to register to vote in the August 22 elections for the coloured House of Representatives.

These indicators appear to point to the representation of the Chinese in the white House of Assembly, whether or not they join a common roll with whites.

Such a formula might exclude those Chinese living in "non-white" group areas, who might then find themselves represented in the coloured House.

Overall, the Chinese are anticipating that they will be almost fully recognised by the white group with which they have identified closely in social and economic terms since the first traders arrived here in the 1890's.

But this much should be clearly understood: the Chinese don't want to be white; they want to be Chinese and equal to whites.

Politically, says Mr Man, the community cannot aspire to being a pressure group. Its tiny size gives it no clout.

Until now the Chinese have lived in South Africa, it would seem, according to one adage of the philosopher Confucius: "He who requires much from himself and little from others, will keep himself from being the object of resentment".

A recently published book, "The Chinese People of South Africa", written by Dr Linda Human of the Unisa School of Business Leadership three years ago,

points out that the community had found it more expedient, because of its size, to fight for its own cause than to concern itself with that of blacks in general.

This may change. While the community cannot flex muscle, it could, however, spread its wings a little. In time, South Africa's Chinese community may come to represent a moral point of reference in the political arena, backed as it is by a rich and valuable culture which it would be glad to share.

It is possible that South Africa's Chinese will feel secure enough to begin to define a political stance beyond themselves, and move in another direction indicated by Confucius: "A man of humanity is one who, in seeking to establish himself, finds a foothold for others and who, desiring attainment for himself, helps others to attain".

South Africa's Chinese community differs quite dramatically from other communities abroad, for example, in Britain and the United States, where the communities remain economically isolated, taking employment that does not threaten workers of the host country, usually concentrated in "Chinatowns", and resisting assimilation.

Here, Chinese people have a high level of contact with whites, are mainly scattered through white communities, compete in the white labour market and generally aspire to — and are able to aspire to — the same goals of upward mobility and economic security.

Traditional Chinese values and the need to overcome the discriminatory effects of South African

legislation have led the community to place a high premium on education, financial security and general betterment. And the vast majority of Chinese have achieved this.

Many Chinese grew up with the prospect of educating themselves here, then emigrating to escape the unpredictable nature of their relationship with the apartheid society. Now emigration is tailing off as the community's position has eased.

Mr Man, who has a BSc, a BCom, and an MBA, estimated that, of the students who were with him at university in 1965, only 30% are still in the country. These days it would be 80 or 90%.

Dr Human says that, although many aspects of the Chinese way of life have been pushed into the background by assimilation, Chinese South Africans will remain culturally insular by choice.

Mr Man says: "We distinguish between a cultural identity and a racial identity".

The point is illustrated by Casa's policy — executed by its regional associations — of encouraging Chinese youth to learn more about their own traditions and philosophy.

Three years ago Dr Human wrote: "The Chinese are weary and cynical: cynical about South Africa; weary about so-called human rights."

"They have been labelled too long, promised too much too frequently, turned away too consistently, and let down too persistently for them to believe. Equality is too long overdue and the Chinese have turned away."

Will this now change?

# GOVERNMENT URGED TO HEED DEMANDS OF BLACKS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 5 Aug 84 p 22

[Article by Johan Degenaar, Professor of Political Philosophy, University of Stellenbosch]

[Text]

THE Nkomati Accord has become a symbol of the dynamics of the political situation in Southern Africa.

The image of the South African Government as destabiliser in Southern Africa has been replaced by the image of the Government as stabiliser and peacemaker.

Sympathetic critics are willing to give the Government a chance to show the world that the hand of friendship offered to Mozambique will also be extended towards the blacks in South Africa.

The blacks themselves have seen that negotiation between black and white is possible.

Why, then, negotiate only with external black leaders and ignore the just claim by internal black leaders for a negotiated settlement?

If we are concerned about justice in politics, then this should be our primary aim.

The distinction between procedural justice and substantive justice can help us to identify the nature and extent of political injustice in South Africa.

Procedural justice entails that in a plural society there should be joint decision-making so that no group will be able to use power to favour itself at the expense of other groups.

According to substantive justice, a new political dispensation will, likewise, have to be based on continual joint decision-making to protect groups from the misuse of power by the stronger group.

To achieve both kinds of justice in South Africa, the process of negotiation is of crucial importance.

This line of argument has provided us with a criterion for assessing the nature and extent of political injustice in our plural society. On the basis of this we can ask the following questions:

- Has the important new constitution been drawn up by representatives of all groups in South Africa, on behalf of all, or only by some to the advantage of themselves?

## Citizenship

- To what extent is government policy based on negotiation and joint deci-

sion-making, and to what extent does it contribute to such a state of affairs?

- Are there any clear statements known to have been made by government leaders in favour of the principle of South African citizenship for all inhabitants, or are pronouncements made to the contrary?

- Is there any intention on the side of the white rulers to formulate a joint declaration of intent about a common future with the leaders of all groups in the country?

If one is concerned about justice, then these are the questions one should continually be asking oneself.

If it is too difficult for us to gauge the nature and extent of injustice in South Africa in this way, we can look at some of the consequences of the Government's refusal to accept blacks as South African citizens.

In the South African context, phenomena such as urban blacks, migrant labour and squatter camps are inevitably linked to the fact that blacks are defined primarily in terms of their homelands.

As citizens of a homeland, blacks can claim no citizenship rights in the Republic of South Africa.

The designation "urban black" is a loaded term with ideological undertones.

It refers to the fact that blacks are "intruders from outside", foreigners who create special problems for the urban whites who are the rightful inhabitants of the cities.

Blacks are allowed to be in the cities only insofar as they fulfil a function within the labour market.

## Conflict

Fortunately, they have been granted the right to form trade unions. This, however, creates its own problems.

The blacks are given industrial or labour citizenship, but are denied political citizenship.

To integrate blacks economically while at the same time keeping them politically at a distance is a formula for conflict.

Migrant labour is another consequence of the denial of citizenship to blacks.

The injustice of this "cancer" in the body politic is not merely that blacks are identified as citizens of another "country" but also because the migrant labourer is accepted only on the condition that his family remains in the impoverished homelands.

Squatting is a product of industrialisation. Workers

leave poverty-stricken areas in the hope of finding employment in cities.

Wives and children accompany them and they stick together in spite of squalid conditions and continual harassment by the police.

The policy of "no black South African citizenship" conditions whites, soothing their consciences so that they need not accept any responsibility for the poverty in the homelands or for the appalling conditions in squatter camps.

Why do the homeland leaders not look after their own people? And what are the foreigners doing in our country and our cities?

This is how we rationalise the policy of separate development.

Do we realise that 50 000 South African children die yearly from hunger, that a third of black children are underfed and that more than 50 percent of blacks in the homelands live below the poverty datum line?

These phenomena are part of a greater complex of problems with which all the inhabitants of South Africa will be confronted in the next few decades: scarcity of resources, over-population, poverty, migrant labour, urbanisation of blacks, squatting, unemployment, education and affirmative action.

The policy of apartheid is not the cause of all these problems, but it conditions and structures them in a certain rigid manner.

The point of my argu-

ment is that it is impossible to solve these inter-related problems without the co-operation of all groups in the country.

By not allowing all inhabitants of South Africa to have South African citizenship with a stake in a common fatherland, we are making this joint approach impossible.

If we are in any way concerned, not only about justice in South Africa but also about the possibility of a peaceful, shared future, we have no right to deny blacks South African citizenship.

Two statements made recently summarise the problem — the first reflecting the intransigence of the Government, the second expressing the claim of blacks for citizenship.

## Claim

Hermann Giliomee states: "The Afrikaner quest to remain the dominant ethnic group makes it unlikely that the State will, over the next 15 years, abandon its insistence that blacks are not South African citizens."

A spokesman for a group of squatters in Cape Town expresses the rightful claim of blacks:

"We're going nowhere. If the Government wants to move people to the homelands, it had better come and shoot them here."

"We are just asking for our rights and we will stay here until the Government gives them to us."

'RESCUE OPERATION' NEEDED FOR NATAL SUGAR INDUSTRY

Kimberley DIAMOND FIELDS ADVERTISER in English 27 Jul. 84 p 8

[Text]

DFA Correspondent  
DURBAN — A rescue operation would have to be mounted for the sugar industry, a cornerstone of the entire economy of Natal, the chairman of the SA Sugar Association, Mr Ian Smeaton, said on Wednesday.

Speaking at the association's annual meeting in Durban, Mr Smeaton warned that existing Government implementation of price control would force the sugar industry to sink 'deeper and deeper into the morass of clinging loans and high interest burdens,' without an opportunity of regaining economic stability.

Painting a bleak picture of the industry's finances, Mr Smeaton said Natal already had one of the highest unemployment rates in the country, estimated at over 20 percent.

Without a sugar industry, the economy of Natal would shrink dramatically and ancillary services such as transport, engineering, general commerce and industry would collapse — with a further adverse effect on the labour market.

He said 150 000 sugar industry workers and their 750 000 dependents played a vital role in stabilising the rural population of Natal, KwaZulu and Transkei, which have the country's highest density concentration of rural blacks.

Poverty in these areas posed a continual threat of massive migration to the cities and of squatting problems there.

Mr Smeaton said the industry had gained a 'fat cat' image but he thought the authorities would have investigated the position rather than having acted on an assumed idea.

Existing Government policy on price control over the industrial selling level of sugar was being exercised in a way which forced the industry to borrow revenue which correctly should be derived from the consumer. Local sugar prices are among the lowest in the world and in only one year out of 12 has the domestic price been sufficient to cover costs of production and accepted return.

ACADEMIC CLAIMS 'SA'S INJUSTICES TURNING YOUTH TOWARD MARXISM'

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 7 Aug 84 p 2M

[Article by Eugene Saldanha]

[Text]

Young people were increasingly turning towards Marxism because they were convinced it was a cause worth fighting for. They had become disillusioned because of the many injustices in South African society, an international authority on Marxism told Witwatersrand University students yesterday.

Speaking at "Destiny '84", a programme organised by Christian students at Wits, the dean of students at St Paul's Theological College in Grahamstown, Dr P le Feuvre, said people who accepted Marxism were not "threatening, violent creatures", but were often good human beings trying to grapple honestly with the ills of society.

"My approach to Marxism is one of critical co-operation. But my primary allegiance lies in God," he said.

"Marx and his followers sought to actively change the world — but Marx was not the first person who tried to. Throughout the Bible, we

are told of Christians who were committed to establishing just societies.

"Marxist atheism means there is no purpose for humanity except within the context of the political party.

"The Christian cannot subject himself to the laws of dialectical materialism or scientific socialism. For the Christian, all authority is derived from God.

"As a Christian, I disagree with Marxist method. I cannot accept the use of amoral or violent methods to advance a revolution. I believe God has his own plan for changing society."



## 'Just SA Is Only Route to Peace'

[Article by Jo-Anne Collinge]

[Text]

South Africa was approaching a time when its residential areas would be turned into battlefields, a Soweto theologian, the Rev Frank Chikane, has warned.

Speaking yesterday at "Destiny '84", a programme organised by Christian groups on Witwatersrand University campus, Mr Chikane said: "Only when we weep can we avoid the holocaust. A person starts weeping when he comes to grips with reality."

The reality was that the oppressed would al-

ways say they had a just war and would accumulate arms, he said. The only route to peace was the establishment of a just society.

Mr Chikane appealed for radical change, which would transform society and would allow citizens full participation.

The liberal notion of evolutionary change could not work, he said, because it meant the "rate of change is determined by the oppressor, and the oppressed are not going to understand why it has to be so slow".

CSO: 3400/2107

## ACID RAIN THREAT TO COUNTRY EXAMINED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 7 Aug 84 p 3

[Text]

**CAPE TOWN.** — The enormous amounts of sulphur dioxide and nitrogen dioxide released into the atmosphere by coal-burning power stations and other industries in the south-eastern Transvaal can, under certain atmospheric conditions, produce acid rain, says *Scientiae*, the CSIR's quarterly journal.

Sulphur dioxide and nitrogen dioxide can be converted into sulphurs and nitrates, the basic ingredients necessary for the rain that is causing world-wide concern.

The highest values of sulphates in the atmosphere for single days in the south-eastern Transvaal area have on occasion reached the maximum quantities allowed in California, the report says.

This tendency was revealed by a countrywide monitoring of smoke and sul-

phur dioxide in the atmosphere over South Africa, carried out by the Atmospheric Sciences Division of the CSIR's National Physical Research Laboratory (NPRL) in collaboration with local authorities.

Two instruments recently acquired by the NPRL make possible a more thorough study of the nature, extent and origin of air pollution. One of these, an ion chromatograph, can be used in the developing battle against acid rain.

The NPRL survey also indicates that a significant contribution is made by smouldering waste heaps at coal mines.

Coal-burning power stations were previously thought to be the only source of this form of pollution. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/2107

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

SISULU WARNING--Seshego--The Indian and Coloured youth would be conscripted into the South African Army to fight their own brothers when the new constitution was implemented later this month. This was said by the Transvaal president of the United Democratic Front (UDF) Mrs Albertina Sisulu, during a rally held at the Seshego cinema hall yesterday. Mrs Sisulu, the wife of the former ANC secretary general, Walter Sisulu, who is serving a life sentence on Robben Island, was loudly cheered by the more than 4 000 people. She called for the scrapping of the Bantustans and urged the Government to release Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned ANC president who is now serving life sentence on Robben Island. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 6 Aug 84 p 5]

CSO: 3400/2107

ENTHUSIASM FOR RASTAFARIAN CULT EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 6 Aug 84 p 4

[Text]

**MBABANE —** A Rasta row is brewing in Swaziland.

Enthusiasm for the cult rose sharply after a visit by Reggae star Peter Tosh last year and, since then, dreadlocks and clothes typical of Rastafarians have become common among the young and not so young.

Some schoolteachers followed the cult and dressed accordingly and this has been debated hotly in the letters page of a local newspaper. Some parents expressed concern that their children might take to smoking dagga which is widespread among Rastafarians.

Then the Swazi Minister of Education, Mr Dabulamjiva Nhlabatsi, stepped in and ruled that teachers and pupils must not appear in Rastafarian dress or follow the cult.

Last week he refused to allow a local Reggae-style group to travel to Malaysia for a cultural festival because he said their Rasta image was not representative of Swazi culture and society.

A comment in the *Daily Times* of Swaziland attacks these rulings on the grounds that they are undiplomatic and interfere with individual rights.

The comment refers to the late King Sobhuza's way of handling delicate issues with wisdom and tact and of persuading his people into a certain path rather than forcing them.

"As a level-headed nation we need to persuade and mould our children in a certain direction and not bludgeon them into despair and bitterness," the paper said.

CSO: 3400/2036

## UGANDA

### ARMY'S ATROCITIES INTENSIFY ECONOMIC, SOCIAL BREAKDOWN

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 2 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Stefan Klein: "Uganda: Relapse Into Old Times of Terror."]

[Text] At first one sees skeletons. Bleached and gnawed off, they are spread over a large area in such large number that at the outset one instinctively refuses to believe that all of these are bones of human beings. But then one sees a pile of fresh corpses and all of a sudden no longer has any doubt that this is a dump for human corpses. There are 16 badly mutilated bodies lying here who did not die a natural death and were probably unloaded here just a few hours ago--for the insects, worms and especially the vultures that have gathered in the surrounding trees to feed on.

One has the feeling of noticing the penetrating odor of decay--but that is only imagination, for the horrible scenario comes into being, without germs and smell, on a video screen. The pictures were taken in Uganda: In the Luwero District, north of the capital Kampala. The film was made by a team of the most important Ugandan guerilla movement, the National Resistance Army (NRA). To be sure, the pictures are not sharp and shaky, but that impairs only the quality, but not the explosive effect of the documentary film strip, with which the NRA, in the words of its leader, Yoweri Museveni, wants to show that the regime of Milton Obote makes itself guilty of systematic mass murder.

To be sure, the horror pictures of Kaya's Farm, a desolate property between the localities of Luwero and Katoge, do not offer any direct proof that these dead are indeed victims of the Ugandan army, but who is inclined to doubt it after everything that has become known about the atrocities of the soldiers? Thus, for example, the female staff member of a foreign assistance team, which works in the Luwero District, remembers May 15, "when 1,000 mobile soldiers arrived, who the next morning moved across the mountains into the nearby villages of Kiwugo, Kimali, Sambwa and Uyangatten". And further: "At noon the first wounded came--three children, 11, 6 and 5 years old, and one man, all with serious stab wounds, inflicted with the evident intent to kill. The next day, therefore, we took off for the villages to look for further wounded. We found the broad track of the many soldiers' boots in the mud, two wounded and at least 20 dead, among them two women who, together with their babies on

their backs, were murdered. One of the dead still had the opened bible in his hand. Three houses had been set afire, the dead next to them were partly charred. . . ."

#### An Important Trump

Such portrayals are added to the NRA pictures, which Museveni--in a lengthy statement at the beginning of the film--knows how to exploit in accordance with all the rules of the art of propaganda. "The viewers abroad," he says, can now see that the governments in Africa and Western Europe, who extended moral and material aid to Obote, "in reality supported genocide". In view of these pictures, he continued, it is completely illusory to believe that Obote can improve the situation in Uganda: "Those who nevertheless do so now no longer have any excuse and are regarded by us as enemies of the people in Uganda."

The self-assurance that is reflected in the words of the guerilla leader results from the most recent successes of the NRA, the largest one of which is likewise documented in the film: It shows a part of the booty that was taken on 20 February during a surprise attack on the barracks in the city of Masindi and was moved away on 15 trucks. To prove the point, the camera moves across a number of machine guns and cannons to Museveni, who then enumerates in detail what all was captured: 765 guns, 10 machine guns, 11 light cannons, 350 grenades, 3,000 hand grenades, 250,000 rounds of ammunition, and 1,000 army uniforms. The warehouses were so full, it was reported, that a part of the material even had to be left behind.

Thus armed, the NRA at the moment possesses a certain trump card in this conflict, whose origins go far back into the colonial period, when the British combined three differently developed cultural groups into a protectorate: The Nilotes in the north, organized in traditional tribal associations, the Nilo-Hamites in the northeast, as well as the Bantu, who in the south and west had formed centralistic and hierarchically organized political and social structures--most distinctly in the monarchy of Buganda, one of the oldest dynasties of Africa, with an absolutist king, the kabaka, at the head.

This contrast was further sharpened by the fact that the Nilotic tribes in the dry and infertile north were able to make a living only with great difficulty, while the southern belt around Lake Victoria developed into an efficient production center thanks to better soil and climate conditions. But the political development ran directly counter to this drastic drop in development, which reinforced the "Southerners", especially the Baganda living in Buganda, in their leadership claim vis-a-vis the "Northerners": In 1962, when Uganda was granted independence, a Nilotic Northerner in the person of Milton Obote stood at the head of the state.

In the capital Kampala, situated in the midst of the Bantu stronghold of Uganda, Obote proceeded immediately to dismantle the former kingdom and to subdivide it into simple administrative districts--a measure which found its conclusion in 1966 with the expulsion of the kabaka. No wonder that in 1971 putschists, under the leadership of a certain Idi Amin, were cheered as liberators precisely by the Baganda--although Idi Amin also came from

Nilotic north. But the enthusiasm vanished rapidly when it turned out that the tyrant had not only instigated bloodbaths among the Langi and Acholi tribes loyal to Obote, but also did not spare the elite of the Baganda.

#### The Surreptitious Comeback

After the expulsion of Amin by Tanzanian troupes and Ugandan exile units, hopes once again developed among the Baganda of being able at last to play a political role commensurate with their economic significance--but the course had been set for the return of Obote. After two interim governments under Yusuf Lule and Godfrey Binaisa, a military commission came to power in 1980, which paved the way for Obote out of his Tanzanian exile, at the end of which--this is how they had imagined it--was to stand a convincing election victory. This did, indeed, come about--although only through massive falsifications in favor of Obote's Ugandan People's Congress (UPC) and to the detriment of the Catholic-stamped classical Baganda party, the "Democratic Party" (DP).

With his surreptitious comeback, to be sure, Obote ended up in the midst of enemy territory--for differently than in 1966, when the Baganda had meekly submitted to Obote's blows, this time guerilla groups developed, of which the National Resistance Movement (NRM) led by Yusuf Lule from his exile in London, and its military wing NRA, headed by the former minister of defense Museveni, has proved to be the strongest. To be sure, at the end of the past year it seemed as though the army, in the course of an offensive, had succeeded in expelling the dissidents from the Buganda districts of Mpigi, Luwero and Mubende, which border directly on the territory of the capital, but this hope of the government has proved to be deceptive.

Precisely as if the death of the chief of staff of the army, David Oyite Ojok--one of the closest confidants of Obote, who in December died in a helicopter crash under circumstances never entirely clarified--had acted as a signal, the guerilla fighters, pushed into the defensive, now once again began to seize the initiative. In January they kidnapped 11 staff members of the International Red Cross whom they soon set free again, however. When shortly afterwards four foreign development aid workers, three Swiss and one Englishman, were murdered not far from the yacht club on Lake Victoria, it was immediately clear to the government that this likewise could only have been the rebels. At the same time, the deed did not at all fit into the pattern of behavior of the guerillas, but could sooner be fitted neatly into the long series of brutal acts of the notoriously undisciplined soldiers. This rabble of soldiers is primarily responsible for the fact that the civilian population must experience such endless suffering under the situation in Uganda. While the guerillas as a rule strike at well-defined targets, the counterblows of the army for the most part lead to cruel campaigns of vengeance against the population, which as a matter of principle is suspected of collaboration.

One of the **last** excesses in accordance with this pattern occurred in May, after an NRA-commando had perpetrated an act of sabotage against a satellite station in the vicinity of the capital and thus triggered a military action, which did not develop into an anti-guerilla operation, but into a terrible massacre. Leaving behind a broad trail of blood, the soldiers moved through

the surrounding villages, burning, murdering and plundering, set the houses on fire, killed the livestock, and at last assailed--the high point of their lust for destruction--the national shrine in Namugongo, blessed by Pope Paul VI in 1969, which is dedicated to a number of martyrs, whom the Buganda king Mwanga at the end of the last century had ordered burned alive because they had refused to renounce their Christian faith.

The government condemned and "deeply regretted" this bloodbath, which reportedly claimed more than 100 dead--which produced an amply hypocritical effect in view of the fact that the regime of Milton Obote knows how to employ the soldiers--who are almost exclusively recruited from the northern tribes of the Langi and Acholi, are strangers to their new surroundings, are paid poorly or not at all, are to a large extent without leadership and thus almost necessarily degenerate into bands of robbers--quite consciously for a purpose, to intimidate and demoralize the "Southerners", in particular the Baganda. According to the estimates of the DP [Democratic Party] leader Paul Seemogerere, 100,000 people have been killed during the past 3 years--most of them probably in the Baganda districts of Mpigi, Mobende and Luwero, where the soldiers raged especially brutally.

In these three regions, the government last year set up about 40 camps for about 150,000 people in order to isolate the guerillas from the population. These measures would have been quite capable of securing a certain security for the tormented people if the work of the international assistance organizations, such as the Red Cross or Oxfam, on which the supply of the camp inmates depended entirely, had not been more and more restricted at the beginning of this year.

#### A Shocking Surprise Attack

In the meantime, most of the camps have been dissolved again and the inmates have been asked to return to their homes--just as if the security situation had taken a decisive turn for the better. However, the opposite is the case, and thus it is no wonder that the people, filled with fear of the soldiers, desperately wander through the bush, in search of a halfway protected place, which in the entire Luwero District really only exists in Nakaseke, where the German emergency doctors of Rupert Neudeck, under indescribably difficult conditions, continue operation in a small hospital, which for many natives has become a sort of refuge.

A normalization of the situation cannot be expected in the foreseeable future, for the National Resistance Army is visibly gaining in effectiveness. Three and a half months after the surprise attack on Masindi, which was so shocking for the people governing in Kampala, Museveni's guerillas also struck in the city of Hoima, where they likewise captured military equipment and beyond this demonstrated their strength in unmistakable terms: For 24 hours they remained in the city, where Museveni had himself inscribed in the "Golden Book" and gave a speech to which even the minister of labor of the country had to listen, who happened to be in Hoima at the time. As if a national festival was going on, Museveni, for the entertainment of the people, even arranged for a soccer game to be played. And the NRA film-team reportedly also was there: Before long those who are interested will be able to see the memorable visit in Hoima as video film.



SOUTH AFRICAN CORRESPONDENT ANALYZES ISSUES DISCUSSED AT CONGRESS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 8 Aug 84 p 10

[Article by Robin Drew: "Marxist Missionary in Search of An Audience"]

[Text]

The face that Mr Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, is presenting to the nation in this week of the mammoth congress of his ruling Zanu (PF) party is that of an earnest marxist missionary.

Mr Mugabe is never happier than when he is painstakingly explaining to his interviewers that socialism has a powerful moral appeal for him. By emphasising the sharing among the people of the natural resources of the country, the philosophy that he wants everyone to embrace emphasises the selfless approach as opposed to the selfish individualism of the followers of capitalism.

Mr Mugabe's problem, however, is to find enough people who understand what he is talking about.

When he was asked how socialism could succeed when there appeared to be only one committed socialist — himself — he spoke of the small beginnings of any project.

"We will start with a core of the committed few," he said. But he accepted that even among the leadership of his own party, which is to adopt scientific socialism as its guiding ideology, there were people who did not support or even understand the concept.

In marxist terms, socialism is the first phase of communism. Under socialism, marxists believe that private ownership of the means of production must be replaced by public ownership, that power must belong

to the working people and that a nationally planned and managed economy will put an end to economic crises, poverty and exploitation.

Mr Mugabe has said that while there are different roads to socialism, there is only one genuine product and that is socialism of the marxist-leninist variety.

In the whole of Africa, even though it is 25 years since the collapse of colonialism began, not one country is ruled by a party recognised as "communist" in Soviet terms.

The authoritative check list of communist parties published in "Problems of Communism", a US Government publication, lists only five countries in Africa ruled by parties which are regarded by Moscow as "vanguard revolutionary democratic" bodies. These are parties deemed by Russia as ones most likely to evolve into fully fledged communist parties.

Those countries are Benin, Congo, Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique — hardly a triumph for the spread of marxist-leninist ideas.

The other concept which will be pushed hard at this week's congress is the move to a one-party state, something which Mr Mugabe's followers find easier to grasp. Once again he has adopted a crusading attitude and said recently that the one-party system was a "religion" for him.

The obstacles here, however, lie in the constitution which gave rise to the state of Zimbabwe.

The rules for governing Zimbabwe, drawn up at Lancaster House, lay down that the people have an enshrined right to form political parties of their own choice.

The Declaration of Rights in the constitution granting them freedom of association is specially protected. Until the end of the first decade of independence, which will be reached in 1990, the assent of every single member of the 100-seat House of Assembly would be needed to do away with this provision.

In other words, given the presence in Parliament of men like Mr Ian Smith, who have vowed to oppose the one-party system, it will be another five years before that system can be introduced legally.

As Mr Mugabe has repeatedly said he intends to act within the constitution (though he has hinted at a different course of action on occasions) it is more than likely that introducing the one-party system will

be a long drawn-out process.

Political observers in Harare believe that while the concept will be endorsed, implementing it will probably be linked to a review of the whole constitution. Zanu (PF) favours, for example, one House of Parliament instead of the bicameral Senate and House of Assembly, and an executive President instead of the present system of a Prime Minister and a figurehead President.

Reviewing the whole constitution could entail the appointment of a special commission, consultations with various groups, studies of government processes in other parts of the world, and so on.

Meanwhile there is the general election, scheduled for early next year, at which Mr Mugabe must obtain an increase in seats to prove that the electorate does endorse his wish for a one-party state.

Congress week will see an outpouring of rhetoric. But hard practical politics will in the end decide the pace of change in Zimbabwe.

CSO: 3400/2041

## ZIMBABWE

### BRIEFS

TECHNICAL AID PACT WITH DENMARK--THE Zimbabwean and Danish governments yesterday signed a technical agreement for personnel who will aid Zimbabwe's engineering and medicine. The agreement, which was signed by the Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, Cde Frederick Shava and the Danish Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Mr Neils Julius Lassen, should add a new dimension to the development co-operation which existed between the two countries. Aid includes reconstruction of schools, the design of middle-sized dams in the Midlands, the expansion of the Grain Marketing Board depots at Chengutu and Norton and equipment provided to the Dairy Marketing Board and the Posts and Telecommunications Corporation. "The best co-operation between our two countries has been in the field of personnel, which I hope will and has brought in new ideas and angles in solving some of the problems facing Zimbabwe," said Mr Lassen. Cde Shava expressed his appreciation for the help with human resources especially the technical staff, which he said, were "obviously going to be inadequate during our three-year national transitional period". [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 28 Jul 84 p 5]

EAST BLOC MILITARY COOPERATION--Zimbabwe has increased its military cooperation with East bloc nations. Rumania may provide licenced production at Harare of 50,000 AK 47s, and the USSR is to deliver T 59 tanks. [Text] [Paris AFRICAN DEFENSE JOURNAL in English Jul 84 p 29]

CSO: 3400/2041

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